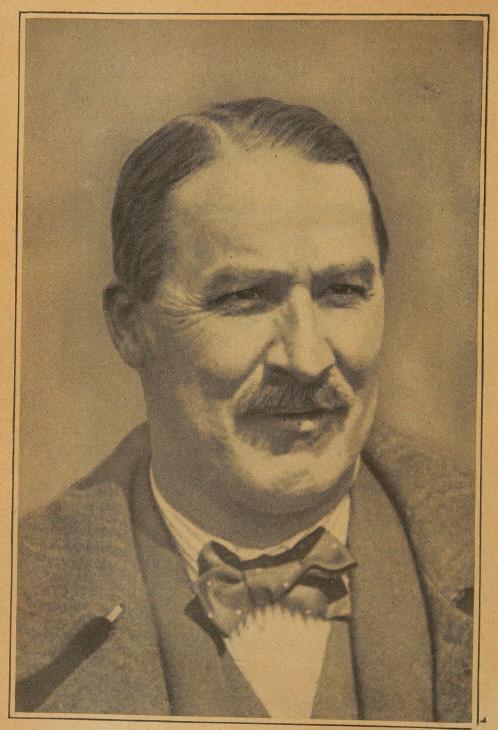
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Former Editor, London Statist

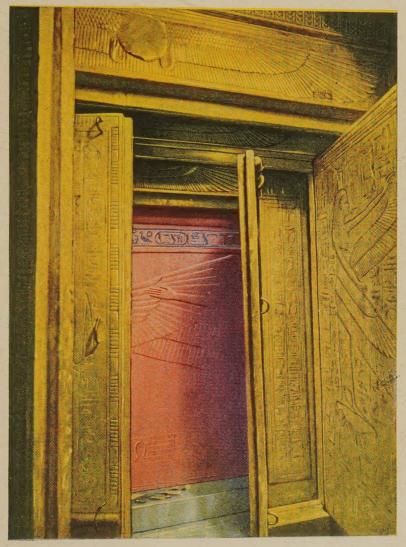


### HOWARD CARTER

Internationa!

Trained as an artist, Mr. Carter began his work as an archaeologist in Egypt in 1891 under Professor Flinders Petrie; from 1900 to 1905 he was Government Inspector-in-Chi which led to the discovery of the tomb of Tutenkhamon. He arrived for the first time in A merica this year

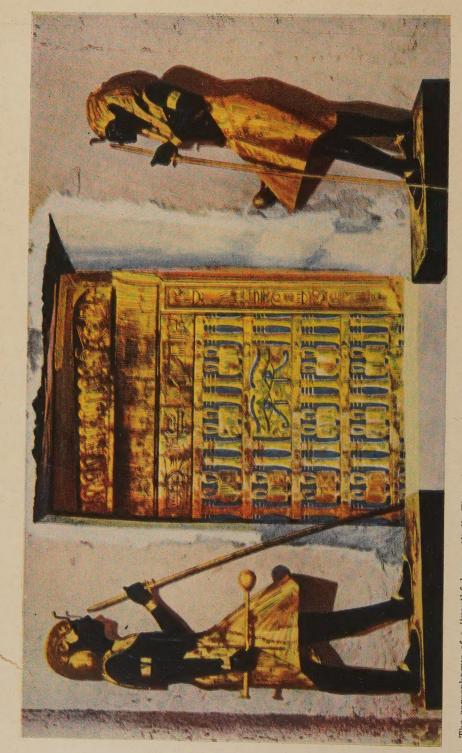
# Splendors in the Tomb of the Egyptian King Tut-ENKH-AMON



The gateway to a distant past: The gold doors of the two inner shrines of the tomb of Tut-enk-Amon, opened by the excavators and disclosing the huge pink granite shrine in which was found the mummy case of the Pharaoh, the last chapter of this year's discoveries, far underground in the Valley of the Kings. A whole new chapter in the history of the dim past is revealed by the photographs of this series which follow

[Colored from description]

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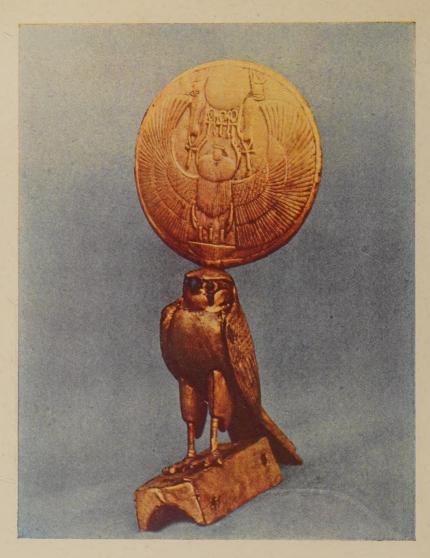


The sarcophagus of a "youthful nonentity": The golden shrine which enclosed the mummy case, of blue and gold, with the symbol of the "Sacred Eye" on the case opposite the head of the mummy. Beside the cutting in the wall stand sentinel figures of the King in bitunized wood, with gold embellishments

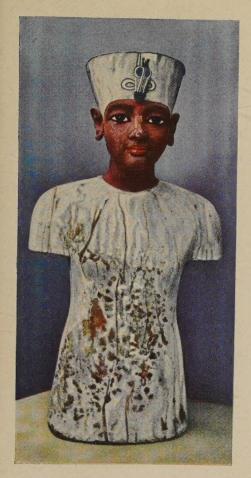


"The most beautiful chair in the world": Tut-enkh-Amon's golden throne, overlaid in sheet gold, and embellished on the seat, back and arms with glass and faience in brilliant primary colors, as fresh today as when the forgotten artisans of the palace laid them on. The panel of the back of the throne shows the King, in his royal robes, with his Queen touching his shoulder with perfume from a vase which she holds in her hand

[Colored from autochrome photo and description]



Symbol of the King's Divine ancestry: Gold "Horus" hawk, royal ensign, attached to the pole of one of the gold chariots found in the outer chamber of the tomb. The Hawk, with the Sun Disk upon its head, signified to his people that the King believed himself actually to be the "Son of the Sun," of Divine origin. The royal prenomen is embossed upon the disk, with supporting figures of the winged scarab, cobras and the "ankh" symbol [Autochrome photo]





The King's manikin: A wooden figure, of a use still undetermined, which is supposed to have been intended to hang the King's robes upon. It is thought to be a portrait likeness of the young Pharaoh himself

[Colored from description]



A gold buckle, in the shape of an animal's head, found among the robes of the King, symbolism of a ritual which is lost in the mists of antiquity

One of the "silent mouths" of the tomb: The King's "ushabti," or guardian servant in the next world, the most beautiful of its kind ever found in Egypt, which bears the symbol of power, and a prayer for the dead cut in the soft wood of which the figure was made



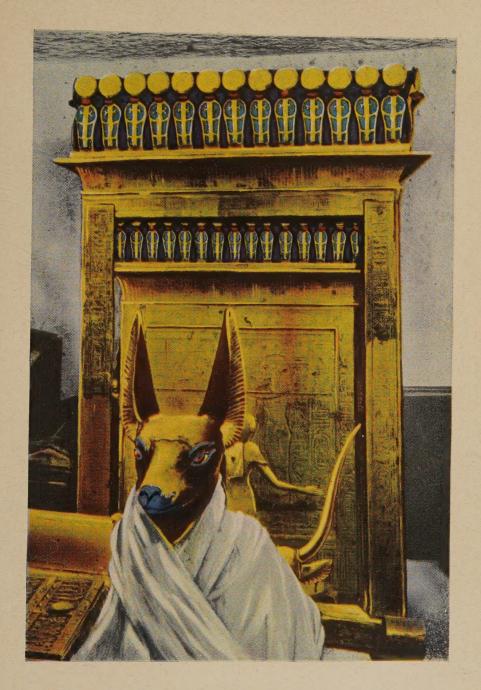
Winged hawks, of pure gold, upon a background of black, which formed a continuous panel down the inside of the three sections of the top of the outer shrine above the mummy of the King. The excavators found that one of the sections had been put in place in the wrong order by the ancient carpenters

[Colored from description]



The great golden chamber in which the King slept: The outer sarcophagus in all its splendor of gold and blue, a winged serpent coiling upon the roof, and a pattern of sacred symbols upon the whole surface of its sides. The blaze of richness of the sarcophagus presented a sight such as no excavator in Egypt has ever before come upon

[Colored from description]



A mystery still to be solved: Huge shrine, thought to contain the "Canopic" jars which were always interred separately from the royal mummy. The shrine bears a frieze of royal cobras with the Sun Disk upon their heads. Tiny goddesses stand guard on its side, one shown in the picture with her back to the camera, one at the left just visible through the space beween the side and the body of the shrine. The shrine has no counterpart in previous discoveries

[Colored from description]



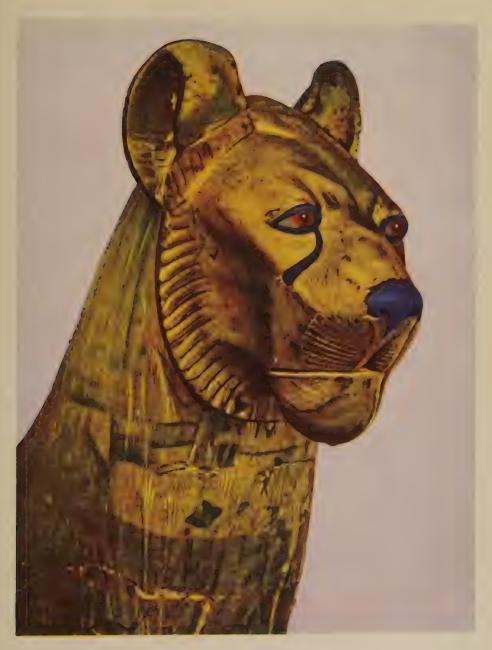
Tut-enkh-Amon and his enemies, Asiatics and Ethiopians, bound and suppliant before the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, wrought as a panel in the gold of the inside of one of the chariots

[Colored from autochrome photo]



The Pharaoh, as a sphinx, trampling upon his enemies, with captives in obeisance before him, and a hawk hovering above his head. The Aslatics, in their long beards, are distinguished from captives from tribes beyond the boundaries of his Egyptian empire

[Colored from autochrome photo]



One of the monsters which guarded the dead King: Head of one of the twin lions of one of the three couches of the outer chamber, modeled with an amazing degree of realism, and covered with sheet gold. The eyelids and nostrils are of lapis lazuli, the whiskers and fur of the animal being indicated by deep scratches upon the surface of the gold

[Colored from autochrome photo]



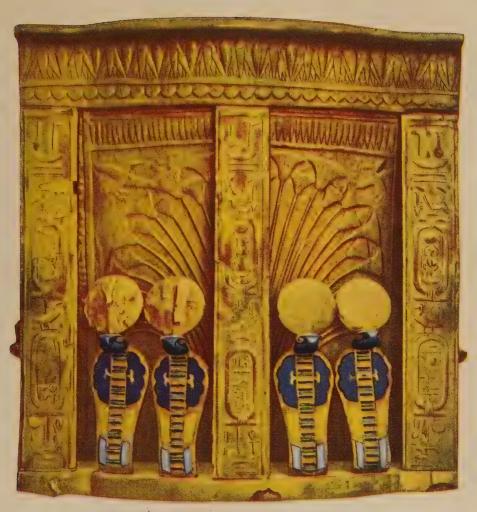
The gold chariot of a glittering majesty: Inside of one of the three chariots found in the outer chamber, piled together in a corner, their wheels and poles dismounted by the ancient burial party to allow of their passage through the doorways of the tomb. They are all of sheet gold, with elaborate patterns spread over their whole surfaces

[Colored from autochrome photo]



A blinker from the harness of the royal horses, made of weod, covered with thin sheet gold and inlaid with aragonite and obsidian. The eyelids and eyebrows are of lapis lazuli, the remainder of the decorations of colored glass and calcite. The symbolism is the "Sacred Eye" and a lotus flower

[Autochrome photo]



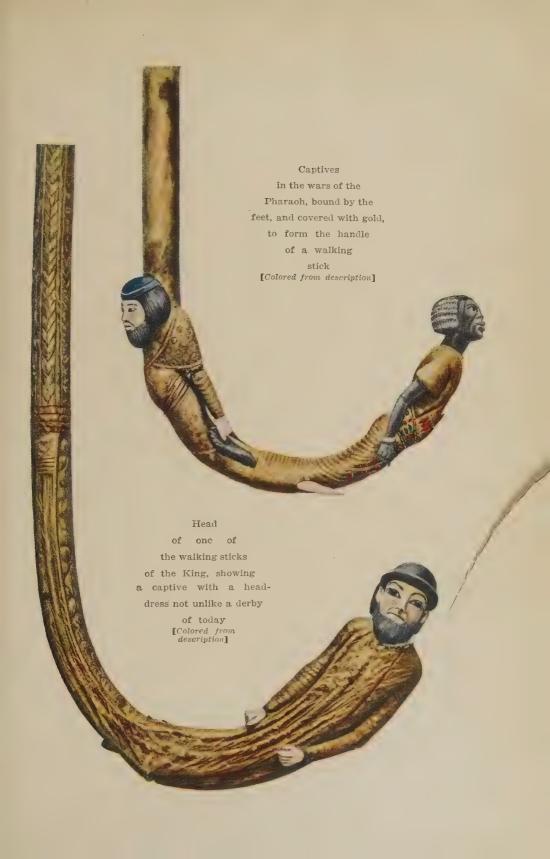
A masterpiece of the cabinetmaker's art: Back of the throne of Tut-enkh-Amon, wrought in sheet gold upon the wood, with a rich border ornament of lotus and panels of hieroglyphs. Four cobras, with the symbol of the Sun Disk upon their heads, partially conceal a panel of lotus flowers, with birds flying above their tops. The mixture of Aten and Amen symbols in the cartouches which cover the throne is mute witness to the religious vacillation of the times in which the young Pharaoh came to the ancient throne of Egypt. That both symbols were allowed to appear upon the throne presents one of the many enigmas of the discovery which have yet to be unraveled

[Colored from autochrome photo]



The harness of the royal chariot horses, embellished with heads of Bes, the household god. They are made of sheet gold, with silver mouths through which the harness straps passed. They terminate in aragonite reels to which the yoke was fastened, and are jeweled with granulated goldwork. Their like has never before been found in any Egyptian tomb. Their discovery, among the débris of the chariots found just within the door of the outer chamber of the tomb, adds much to a detail of ancient life along the Nile banks which has up to the present been but a matter of speculation

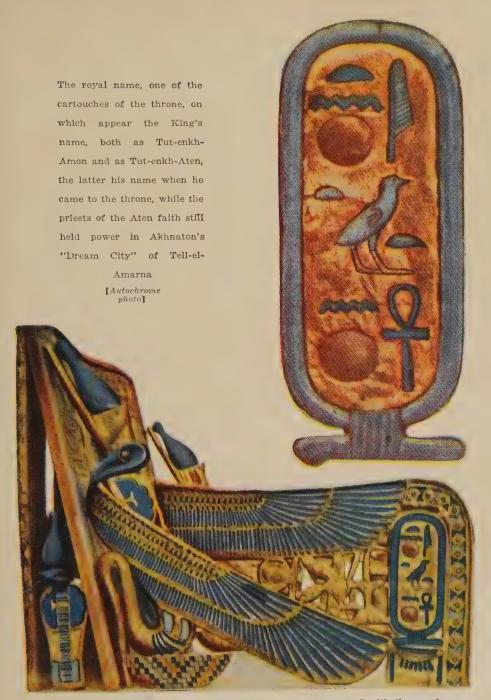
[Autochrome photo]





The Goddess Hathor as the support of a couch: The Cow goddess, with the Sun Disk between her horns, one of the strange beasts which the excavators saw at the end of a long, inclined passage leading to the tomb proper. Representations of such strange objects had been familiar from ancient reliefs on wall surfaces, but had never before been discovered in Egypt

[Colored from description]



An arm of the great golden throne, with winged serpents, crowned with the royal crown, stretching out toward the royal name, in a cartouche. A crowned cobra appears between the sloping panel of the back and its uprights, the whole covered with gold and embellished with glass and faience

[Colored from autochrome photo]



Small golden shrine of the outer chamber: One of the few objects of the tomb which the ancient robbers mutilated. The sides of the tomb are covered with lifelike panels of the King and Queen hunting, and their daily life in the palace. Within was found a pedestal of gilded wood, made for a statuette, but no statuette was found. Sheet gold covers the side of the shrine. Its top is the counterpart, in design, of the great shrine of the adjoining chamber in which the

royal mummy was found this season
[Colored from autochrome photo]

## Explorations at the Tomb of Tutenkhamon

By HOWARD CARTER

English archaeologist associated with Lord Carnarvon in the work that led to discovery of the tomb of Tutenkhamon

If the merit of archaeology be estimated from a material point of view, then it must count as little or nothing, but if, on the other hand, such work is approached from the point of view of intellectual knowledge, it has immense educational value.

To compare ancient Egypt, or the Valley of the Kings, and all they have bequeathed to us, brought to light from time to time by excavation, with material discovery, such as steam, electricity and the like, through other scientific channels, would be ridiculous. But archaeological investigation shows us that such discoveries as the harnessing of those powers to our uses are the only real advantage, other than the science of medicine, that modern civilization may claim over that of the Ancients. Again, though we cannot become intimate with those ancient people in the living, by archaeological research work we can become intimate with their dead and the material they have bequeathed us. As a result of such research, we find that culture in the way of intellectual development, and the arts in general, were in those ancient times, in many ways, higher than they are today. In fact, modern progress in the mechanical sciences and industrialism generally are largely responsible for the complete eclipse of spontaneous and unconscious artistic production. If thereby we get such ultimate results as cubism and futurism, then archaeological research will show that the arts are best without our mechanical and industrial progress.

If we study the ancient religious ideas, we may be absorbed by the curious medley of their mythology, but, perhaps, in the end we will feel that we have progressed beyond them. Yet if once we have acquired the power to ad-

for the most part entertain this sense of esthetic progress. We may do so perhaps in minor details, but hardly any sensible person could ever imagine that he has got beyond the essentials which the art of those ancients embodies. We cannot, with all our progress, get beyond those essentials. We find that the art of the Egyptians expresses its aims in a stately and simple convention, and is thus dignified by its own sedateness. No doubt lack of perspective in their art implies limitation, therefore not a little must be surrendered to that limitation. But within its own convention, belonging as it does to its country, people and period, the best Egyptian art embodies refinement in every way. It embodies love of simplicity, patience in execution, and never descends to an unideal copy of nature. This fact is manifested by the material in the tomb of Tutenkhamon. It is with astonishment that we discover the immense productivity of artistic production of its period. In the material found in Tutenkhamon's tomb it is the domestic affection that is the dominant idea, rather than the austere religious conventions that characterize the other royal tombs in this valley—the Royal Necropolis of Thebes.

In this discovery of Tutenkhamon's tomb we also find among the immense quantities of material brought to light great purity of style, which, in fact, within its convention, has a character of its own. Even in utilitarian objects therein, where art is not a necessity, refinement has always the first consideration. In fact, in this material, as in the beautiful reliefs of this King's reign in the great colonnade of the Temple of Luxor, we find the art of Tutenkhamon

El Amarna composition, created in the life of the King's father-in-law, Ikhnaton, and the essence of the Upper Egyptian New Empire Theban art. We also gather that Tutenkhamon's tastes seem to have been those of an average young Egyptian noble, rather than those of a youth of royal blood. But whatever he may have been, it was by marriage to the third daughter of Ikhnaton that he became a potential heir to the throne.

From data in his tomb, as far as we have been able to study them in the course of salvaging the objects, Tutenkhamon seems to have been quite a youth. It would also appear that he succeeded Smenkhaka as coregent, possibly to support the Aton creed in the capital of Amon. It would also seem that in order to save the throne after the death of his father-in-law, he was compelled for political reasons to accept the supremacy of the Theban capital god Amon-Ka. Of his parentage we know nothing. Nor do we know his place of birth, unless the appellatives in his Amon-name, Heq-on-shema, "the Prince of On of Upper Egypt," "On of Upper Egypt," being the Southern seat of the solar god, Hermonthis, the modern Eremene just above Thebes.

One thing certain is that by virtue of the religion he eventually accepted and by the Theban traditions his tomb was made in the Valley of the Kings. The tomb, like that of King Eye, Tutenkhamon's immediate successor, is of semi-royal and semi-private type, and in plan is more the sepulchre of a potential heir to the throne than that of It was Eye, the aged high and leading official of the court of this branch of lies.

combines both the simple homeliness of this Amenhotep family, who buried our monarch, for there, on the inner walls of Tutenkhamon's tomb chamber, Eye, as King, caused himself to be represented, among the religious scenes, worshiping Tutenkhamon-a scene unprecedented in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. This is a burial which shows every symptom of the religious and political upheaval that finally closed the dynasty.

> Tutenkhamon's monuments throughout Egypt were afterward usurped by Harmhab, another official and General of the period, afterward the founder of the nineteenth dynasty. However, Harmhab seems to have shown the piety finally to reclose the young king's tomb after successive entries by tomb robbers, as he did in the case of Thothmes IV.'s sepulchre—a fact known to us from a griffito in that Theban monarch's tomb.

Up to this moment we have dealt only with about half of the contents of the discovery. The mummy of the King has yet to be examined, as well as the stone chamber leading from the tomb chamber and the annex leading from the antechamber. Both these rooms are full of wonderful objects and material which appears of greater interest and value than that with which we have already dealt-a task of at least another long season's work. Imagination falters at the thought of what the tomb may yet disclose, and eagerly we look forward to the work that lies ahead. But one shadow must inevitably rest upon it -one regret-the fact that Lord Carnarvon was not permitted to see the full a Pharaoh of the Theban New Empire. fruition of his work. Let us, then, dedicate to his memory the best that in us





## iscoveries at the Tomb **TUTENKHAMON**

By T. GEORGE ALLEN Secretary of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

it has long been assumed, crumbled into dust and vanished into oblivion many centuries ago, have been resurrected before our eyes by the startling discovery of the tomb of an Egyptian Pharoah, whose name Tutenkhamon - straightway became a household word throughout the modern world." The excitement of the discovery has now subsided and the inevitable questions arise. Why should Tutenkhamon mean so much? Is our current curiosity justified? What is there about his relation to the career of Egypt that makes his story so important?

To begin with, we must confute a widespread impression of Egyptian civilization as a changeless unity. In politics Egypt offers us our clearest picture of the development of a strong central Government, a real nation, out of originally disconnected settlements along its great river. Urged by the need of cooperation in controlling the Nile for irrigation purposes and commerce, these primitive communities were slowly brought together into the larger units of Upper and Lower Egypt, which in turn were later consolidated by conquest.

The final union, effected about 3.500 years before Christ, was followed by the numbered dynasties. As the King strengthened his hold on the united nation, the first great epoch of Egyptian history—the so-called Old Kingdom (third to sixth dynasty)—developed. This was the time when the Great Pyramid of Gizeh and its fellows were constructed as permanent sepulchers to preserve the bodies of the Pharaohs and thereby assure their future life. The fact that not even these huge masses of almost solid masonry were able to protect The final union, effected about 3.500

NCIENT Egyptian splendors which, the ornaments and persons of their occupants from robbers was largely responsible for the concealment of the royal tombs of the empire within the rugged cliffs at Thebes.

> The Old Kingdom (about 3,000-2,500 B. C.) was only one great age in Egypt's history. Weakened by decentralization, as local officials gained hereditary powers, and finally ruined by invasion from abroad, the Old Kingdom succumbed to anarchy. Thebes, previously a humble provincial town, gave Egypt new dynasties, the eleventh and the twelfth, which reestablished the nation's glory in the centuries between 2,200 and 1,800 The rulers of this period, known as the Middle Kingdom, likewise built pyramids, but smaller, less imposing, and sought protection by elaborate systems of concealed and blocked passages. Such methods, however, failed as completely as had the sheer massivity of old. Meantime a great irrigation project was developed,

> \*The spelling of the Egyptian monarch's name favored by Professor Breasted in his monumental work, "Ancient Records of Egypt," is Tutenkhamon. This and other spellings used by this authority have recently been adopted by the Cambridge History and the Encyclopaedia Britannica.



The first glimpse of the stone sarcophagus within the shrine. T group consists of Howard Carter (in the middle), Mr. Mace (below Mr. Collender (above) and the two Egyptian raisses (headmen)

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ily, whose line we call the eighteenth dynasty. To the end of this dynasty belongs Tutenkhamon.

raohs, partly by driving out these aliens and partly by alliance (see tomb of Amenhotep I.) pursued them into Asia, and thus, almost before these new rulers realized it, they had established the beginnings of their empire. New military methods, such as the use of horses and chariots, were borrowed from their foes and served further to extend the power of Egypt. The spoils of Hither Asia, added to renewed and enlarged income from the Sudan, produced an age of unprecedented magnificence. Amon, the local god of Thebes, patron of the new dynasty, was endowed with riches that defied comparison.

Political developments are, however, but one aspect of a nation's. life. Religiously progress been made from

commercial interests led to extensive the conception of a hereafter attainconquest and trade, especially with able only by those of royal or noble the Sudan, and a great literature birth to that of a universal union with arose. But again foreign invasion over- Osiris, the great ruler of the dead, wherewhelmed the State; and again, after a in any man might share. The basis of atlapse of perhaps two centuries, it tainment, also, had progressed beyond was re-won by another Theban fampreservation of the body and provision of food and other offerings, so that moral worth was now recognized. In The early eighteenth dynasty pha- the long rolls of charms and prayers

which, according to custom under the empire, must accompany the deceased for his future guidance and protection—rolls which we group, despite their varying contents, under the term "Book of the Dead"—a prominent feature is the judgment scene, wherein the heart is actually pictured in the scales, balanced against the feather emblem of truth and righteousness.

#### IKHNATON—FATHER OF NEW CULT

Outstanding Asiastic conquests by Thutmose III., the most able of the Egyptian emperors, allowed his successors more leisure for the arts of peace. At the court of his great-grandson, Amenhotep III., luxury and splendor reached their apogee. Such periods, however, contain within themselves the seeds of dissolution and decay, leading to the downfall of great dynasties. In this instance, however, the period of decadence proved more glorious than Egypt's dead splendors. For the son and successor of Amenhotep III. was Amenhotep IV., better known by his later name, Ikhnaton, the father-in-law of Tutenkhamon and a dreamer of great dreams.

The prominence of imperial Egypt in Asiatic affairs had been attended by various intermarriages with other royal lines. How much foreign blood flowed in the veins of Amenhotep IV. is un

certain; a recent suggestion is that he was partly of Hittite stock. In any event, this King became to the later Egyptians a religious heretic, but to us, as the American Egyptologist, Professor Breasted, has phrased it, he is "the first individual in history." The King's "heresy" was connected with his conception of the The sun-deity.

sun, so outstanding a feature of the Nile landscape, had always been prominent in Egyptian religion. Sometimes it was thought of as Re (the sun proper), traversing the sky and the underworld in his barques, or again as the falcon Horus, winging his way across the sky, or as the beetle Khepri, rolling before it the ball of dung wherein its eggs were laid. Amid these and other forms the sun as Re had acquired great prestige. The priests of Amon appropriated this prestige for their own god, whom they now called Amon-Re. Amenhotep IV. gave wholehearted allegiance to the sun, but chiefly to a less usual conception of it, viz., the physical sundisk (Aton). In honor of the newlyexalted deity, he then changed his name from Amenhotep ("Amon is at rest") to Ikhnaton ("Pleasing to Aton").

Undoubtedly opposed in his philosophizing by the wealthy Amon priesthood, which now completely controlled all official expressions of religion, the King soon abandoned his ancestral capital and founded for himself a new one, free from the hampering traditions of Thebes. Its site, in modern times, known as Tell-el-Amarna, has furnished modern excavators with ruins of palace and temple, home and tomb, illustrating in their decorations and inscriptions the development of Ikhnaton's new theology. Even the hymns composed by the King himself in honor of his new



The royal necropolis on the shrine

deity survive. They strike the lofty note of monotheism, of the fatherhood of God, and of the brotherhood of man. The following verses, as translated by Breasted, are typical of these hymns:

sole god, whose powers no other possesseth,

Thou didst create the earth according to thy

The foreign countries, Syria and Kush, The land of Egypt,

Thou settest every man into his place, Thou suppliest his necessities.

and again:

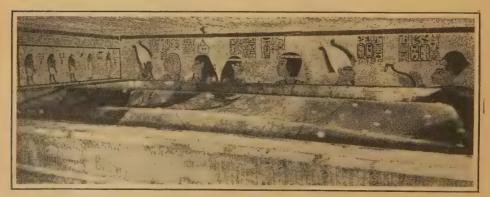
Thou art the mother and the father of all that thou hast made:

This epochal innovation in religion, doing away at a stroke with the cults of a host of deities, was paralleled by a corresponding freedom in art. The stiff decorum of the conventional pharaonic form gave way to intimate personal scenes of the King with his Queen and daughters in unaffected family groups, while in sculpture, as in decoration, freer curves and motion supplanted rigidity and repose. Ikhnaton's energies were, it would seem, fully occupied with furthering these new views of religion and art. The Asiatic empire which his ancestors had built up melted away, while his commanders fretted at inaction, the Amon priesthood plotted to regain its wealth and power, and the common people, deprived of their familiar gods and customs, chafed at the new régime. In this tense atmosphere Tutenkhamon must have it was by the old priesthoods, the army

spent his childhood. Ikhnaton, however, was not physically strong, and was probably not over thirty when he died. He had been blessed with a large family of daughters, but no sons. His eldest daughter's husband, Sakere, ruled briefly with him just before his death, and very briefly afterward; what tragedy may lurk in his early disappearance is not known. He was followed by Tutenkhaton ("Living Image of Aton"), who had married Ikhnaton's next surviving daughter, Enkhosenpaaton ("She Lives for the Aton"). This is the royal pair known to us best, after the Ikhnaton "revolution," by the names of Tutenkhamon and Enkhosnamon, wherein Amon has replaced Aton. How could these weak successors, themselves but children, carry on the faith in the service of which Ikhnaton had suc-cumbed? The crisis tested them too cruelly.

#### THE REIGN OF TUTENKHAMON

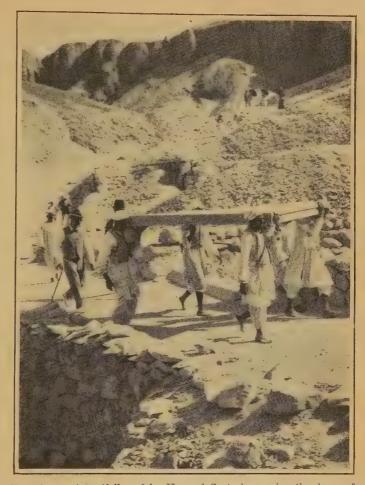
Not at first, however, did Tutenkhaton foreswear loyalty to his fatherin-law's ideals. That he resided first at Tell-el-Amarna is supposed because of the appearance of his throne name (Nebkheprure) on rings and pendants from its ruins, but even there an occasional addition, "emanation of Amon," and a scene wherein Tutenkhaton appears worshiping Amon and his consort Mut, show how the tide was running. This reactionary tendency, supported as



First view of the top part of the linen pall, bespangled with golden rosettes, as seen after the removal of the roof of the outer shrine of Tutenkhamon. The arched appearance is due to the central beam being higher than the outer corners of the frame across which the pall was

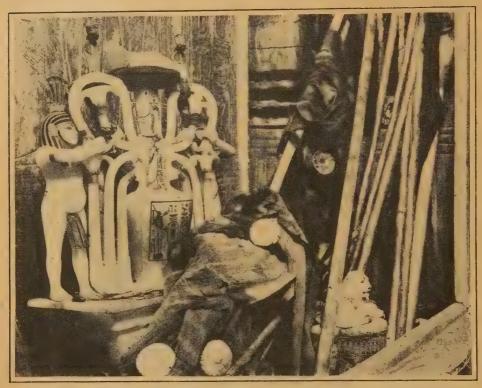
and : the common folk, soon brought the young King back to Thebes, whence have come most of the other clues his reign known before the discovery of his tomb. The most important of these is a large tablet from the Karnak temple of Amon, recounting in the King's own words his restoration throughout Egypt of "the temples of the gods and goddesses" which had suffered damage from Ikhnaton's opposi-We know tion. Tutenkhathat mon repaired the temple of Thutmose IV. in Western Thebes and especially the elegant temple of Amenhotep III. at Soleb in Nubia; yet he seems previously, while still devoted to

the Aton cult, to have enlarged the Aton temple at Thebes. The only date that has come down to us is a mention of the sixth year of his reign on a scrap of linen now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York. Other inscribed relics in New York are a gold ring at the tomb at Thebes two elaborately painted Metropolitan and a blue faience ring in the New York Historical Society's collections. Certain statues from the the respective tributes of Ethiopia and Karnak temple of Amon, like the tablet above mentioned, have been re-cut with the name of a slightly later King, Harmhab, who thus increased his own especially since the Asiatic portion of renown and diminished that of Tutenkh- the empire had fallen away as a result amon.



Egyptian natives (followed by Howard Carter) carrying the doors of the outer shrine to the laboratory after a difficult ascent of the steps of the tomb. The doors are of wood, two inches thick and inlaid with gold and faience work. They were packed in cotton and placed on the tray shown in this photograph

To the foregoing hints of internal developments a problem in foreign relations is to be added. Tutenkhamon had appointed as viceroys over Ethiopia a certain Huy and the latter's brother, Amenhotep. Huy has left to us in his scenes which depict the joint viceroys presenting to Tutenkhamon enthroned of Syria. The question arises, why an administrator of African should be dealing with Asiatic matters, of Ikhnaton's military inactivity. Yet



The first photographs of the objects found in the outer shrine of the tomb of Tutenkhamon. Among them is an alabaster vase on the left. Mounted in silver and gold, it is a most exquisite piece of work, though its contents have caused the neck to burst. On each side of it are two "Hapi" (God of the Nile) figures, crowned with the emblems of Upper and Lower Egypt. In the foreground are seen portions of the enormous metal rosettes (some of which are shown) upon it. To the right are a number of gilt staves and a cosmetic vase in calcite, upon the lid of which is a lion with a long red tongue protruding

Harmhab, the same king who pre- a wild and desolate valley eroded in empted the Karnak statues and tablet, tells us that (before he was king) he attended his lord in battle "on that day of slaying the Asiatics." That Tutenkhamon was the lord in question and that he thus regained some measure of control in Syria, is suggested by fragments of gold foil found in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs (the native Arabic name is Biban el-Muluk) in 1908-1909 which show him in his chariot slaying the Asiatics, as asserted by Harmhab.

#### DISCOVERY OF TUTENKHAMON'S TOMB

That modern eves should ever behold what is, perhaps, that very chariot, was only a wild dream until Nov. 26, 1922, when Howard Carter caught his first enkhamon's tomb. Biban el-Muluk is not accounted for.

the desert plateau that fronts the western plain of Thebes. Since early in the eighteenth dynasty its rocky slopes had been invaded with long corridors terminating in chambers meant to house secretly and in eternal safety the bodies of the Egyptian emperors. When Carter began his work there for the Earl of Carnarvon in 1917, some sixty tombs of the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty were known, and all previous excavators there were convinced that no more existed. But, though the body of Ikhaton had been found in a vault, not a real tomb devised for the transfer of his mortal remains, and though the tombs of Eye and Harmhab, immediate successors of Tutenkhamon, had been located. glimpse of the antechamber of Tut- the tomb of Tutenkhamon himself was

The gold foil with the battle scene, end, had been cleared, could the the linen bearing the date of the sixth year of the monarch's reign and a few other objects bearing the name of Tutenkhamon had all been found in the same general region near the centre of the valley. Here, then, the English explorers undertook a laborious clearance of masses of decayed and fallen rock, as well as of rubbish left by earlier excavators. But not until their sixth season, in 1922, when hope had fled, did a last desperate campaign disclose the entrance to the long sought tomb. Huts of workmen employed, two centuries after Tutenkhamon's death, on the near-by tomb of Ramses VI., had been built on the overlying rubbish, so that the notorious tomb robbers of the twentieth dynasty, the court records of whose escapades under Ramses IX. are still preserved, had had no presentiment splendid palace arm chair of lion type of the existence of the older tomb. That like the first couch, the space between it had escaped their grim attentions was its rails and seat once filled with an definitely proved by the use of Tut-openwork design in heavy sheet gold, enkhamon's own seals all over the block-symbolizing the union of the two ings of his doorways. That tomb rob- lands (Upper and Lower Egypt). This bers, however, already existed under the had been wrenched away by the robeighteenth dynasty is proved by the fact bers; but the intact upper portion of that in those sealed doorways some re- the chair, covered with gold and insealed holes were found, the seal im- laid with parti-colored glass and stones, pressions indicating that these must still embodies some of the most maghave been made immediately after the nificent art of Egypt. Its arms are burial by plunderers who were perhaps formed of crowned uraeus-serpents with some of the very workmen who had laid wings that enclose the title, "King of away the King's equipment. How could Upper and Lower Egypt"; in front

the temptation of buried treasure, the gold and jewelry with which the illustrious dead were decked, be resisted?

Only after the steps and succeeding passageway, with its blocked doorways at each

real nature of the find be determined. Carter's first glimpse from the passageway into the antechamber beyond left him almost speechless. Heaped all about the room was furniture shining with gold overlay and rich designs in multicolored glass and stones: couches and chariots, caskets and chairs, statues and weapons, along with great alabaster vases and even funeral bouquets. The three great couches lined the further wall. Attenuated beasts they were in figure, but marvelous in workmanship. Their heads, of lioness, cow and hippopotamus, symbolize, it would seem, the goddesses Sekhmet, Hathor and Toëris, respectively.

Beneath the Toëris couch stood a

stands an inlaid cartouche which y et preserves the King's original n a m e, The outhaton." side of the back shows four suncrowned uraei with inlaid bodies, while the rest of its de-



Carved cedar wood head rest of the King, bearing "Thoueris" device

of lotus flowers across the top; below, spreading papyrus stalks, over whose blossoms flutter eager birds, and on the three upright supports again the early names of "the good god, the lord throne name), the son of Re, Tutenkhaton (the personal name), like Re forever," and "the great King's wife, Enkhosenpaaton, living forever.'

Most glorious of all is the front of this same back panel. Besides the inlaid details of colored glass, faience and stone which stud its sheet gold backare of silver, which in its now discolored state blends more harmoniously to our Western eyes than might the effulgent original. Within a columned balcony or hall the young King Tutenkhamon sits at graceful ease, while his Queen, "the hereditary Princess, great in favor, lady of pleasantness and sweetness and love, mistress of South and North, the lady of the Two Lands, Enkhosnamon, living forever to eternity," attends him. Through a gap in the uraeus frieze above their heads, the beneficent Aton disk shines down, his rays terminating in human hands that hold to the nostrils of the royal pair the symbol of "life." In such guise had Ikhnaton conceived his father-god, and beside the disk still stand the undisturbed cartouches of the god himself in the form Ikhnaton's courtiers had used toward the end of his reign: "Live the Sun, the horizon-ruler, rejoicing in the horizon, in his name of fire (?) that comes from the Sun-disk." chair, then, is clearly a product of the Tell-el-Amarna days, made under Ikhnaton's sway, and only in a few of the more prominent spots have the Aton forms of names given way to those of triumphant Amon.

In a corner at the left of the entrance covered with embossed sheet gold. The annex to which it led is so full of scatinside and out, the King's cartouches due in large part to the plunderers)

sign is wrought in sheet gold: a band Asiatic bound to the symbol of Egyptian union, while Tutenkhamon, as a lion sphinx, tramples foes of both races and others kneel before him in a long line of captives, the Nubians bound with the lily of the South, the Asiatics with the of the Two Lands, the King of Upper papyrus of the North. At each end of and Lower Egypt, Nebkheprure (the the frame is fixed a golden head of the grotesque household god Bes, with colored inlays for his diadem and his red

tongue protruding.

The other treasures of the antechamber-among them a vaulted casket with marvelous miniature paintings. a chest of elaborately ornamented clothing, torchholders (the earliest yet ground, the robes of the royal couple known), cunningly carved alabaster vases and stands, and all the myriad delicate objects found in the various boxes—can merely be suggested. To the excavators the disentangling of all the confusion occasioned by the ancient plunderers, the reassembling of scattered objects, the reconstruction of designs, the preservation of all the circumstantial data, meant long and toilsome preparation and the securing of a large and capable staff, with the prospect of years of future study after completion of the preliminary records and of the most necessary preservative treatment. An example of enlightened scientific cooperation was presented in the personnel of the staff which speedily attacked these problems. The Egyptian department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art contributed one of its associate curators, A. C. Mace; its photographer, Mr. Burton, and draftsmen, Messrs. Hall and Hauser. Mr. Lucas, the Egyptian Government chemist, and Dr. Gardiner and Professor Breasted, perhaps the leading Egyptologists of England and America, respectively, hastened to assist.

The wonders of the antechamber proved to be only an introduction to the tomb. In the rear wall, toward the left end, was a doorway broken lay a heap of dismantled chariots, also through below and never patched. The body of the one here illustrated shows, tered objects (a disorder undoubtedly (with the Amon form of his name). that no one has yet entered it, nor has .The scene within shows Nubian and anything therein been touched. In the



The King's wishing cup. It is in sen.i-translucent alabaster, with a lotiform bowl engraved in low relief, and upon it a whorl of calices. In the centre, in black, is the King's protocol. On either side, springing from the stem, are lotus flowers supporting the emblems of eternal life. Around the rim are the King's titles and the wish, which reads: "Live thy Ka and mayest thou spend millions of years, thou lover of Thebes, sitting with thy face to the northward and thy eyes beholding felicity"

way completely sealed, but exhibiting, like the outer doorways, a patch of restoration. Beside this at either hand stood a life-sized portrait statue of the King, with golden headdress, kilt and ornaments. The late Lord Carnarvon witnessed on Feb. 16, 1923, the opening of this doorway and the revelation of a series of gold-covered shrines beyond which proved that Tutenkhamon's burial chamber had at last been reached. The door of the second catafalgue still bore the unbroken seal of the necropolis and of Tutenkhamon assurance that the royal body yet lay undisturbed within. Opening from the front wall of the burial chamber was another store chamber of treasures, making four rooms in all. Only the contents of the antechamber were removed during the first season.

the secrets of the burial chamber. The ciation of their beautiful modeling. sumptuous outer catafalque, of heavy When with infinite patience and in-

wall at the right end was another door-|timbers, gold-covered and inlaid with blue faience, was so large that it almost filled the room. The obvious fact that its massive ends and sides could not have been brought in through the present doorway led to the discovery that the wall in which the doorway is located was not a part of the native rock, but had been built up after the entombment. When the decorated inner surface of this wall had been removed the wall was demolished.

Between the outer and the second catafalque the previous Winter's work had already revealed a pall of linen spangled with gold rosettes, as well as walking sticks, bows and other personal equipment. Two of the sticks, when removed, were found to be of apparently solid gold and silver, respectively, their tops in the form of statuettes of the young King. Use of a The 1923-24 campaign was to reveal magnifying glass enhances one's appre-

puter catafalque had been lifted off and the linen canopy and its supporting framework taken away, the double doors of the three inner shrines, all overlaid inside and out with ornamented sheet gold, were opened on Jan. 3, 1924, for a first glimpse of the sarcophagus.

After assurance was gained that the royal sarcophagus was still intact, the doors were reclosed so that the inner shrines might themselves be mantled. Tutenkhamon's cabinet-makers had carefully marked the intended positions of all their sections, but mismanagement in placing them had disarranged the original plan and they had finally been jammed together as they stood. Carter and his associates, however, by unremitting care were able to set aside unharmed these protective coverings.

The huge rectangular sarcophagus then towered intact in splendor, itself too tall for one standing in the same room with it to look down upon it. Upon its corners were carved the figures of beautiful goddesses, with arms outstretched to ward off the intruder, reverently though he came. Within the adjoining store chamber these same four goddesses, this time as statuettes "in shining gold, standing in winsome grace with charmingly poised on one side," guard the casket containing the four canopic jars wherein the King's viscera were preserved. "These exquisite girlish figures," declared Professor Breasted after his first sight of them, "are fundamentally a new revelation of grace and beauty in ancient art. They are quite equal to anything ever produced in Greek sculpture and rival the greatest works of art of any age." These and all the numerous shrines, with the chests and model boats crowded with them into the store chamber, still almost as undisturbed as the contents of the annex, await the explorer's future care.

On Feb. 12, 1924, took place a culmination long anticipated—the raising of the sarcophagus lid. The original lid must have been broken during its installation, for the one actually used is

genuity, the three roof sections of the not of yellow crystalline sandstone like the box, but of rose granite. This, too. had been broken, but was left in place and merely patched with colored plaster, so angle irons had to be fitted along its sides before hoisting tackle could be attached. The first glimpse vouchsafed the distinguished company assembled was disappointing. Merely the glint of broken scraps of granite lying on discolored linen was visible; but when this and a second shroud beneath it had been carefully rolled away, Tutenkhamon's resplendent outer coffin appeared. is of wood in mummy shape, completely covered with gold and gilding. Resting on a low bier of lion form, it is so large that it almost fills the great sarcophagus; the King's body is probably protected by at least two other coffins nested within. The face of the outer coffin, the only one yet seen, embodies in "one solid sheet of gold" an exquisite portrait of the youthful King. The eves are of inset crystal, the brow is decked with the vulture of the South and the uraeus of the North, while the hands crossed upon the chest grasp the sceptre and flail appropriate to the King as now identified with Osiris, ruler of the dead.

> Around the burial chamber are pictured the funeral ceremonies. On the east wall the royal mummy, lying in state within a sacred barque upon a sledge, is drawn by the King's chief nobles to the burial place. The north wall represents Tutenkhamon's successor, King Eye, himself conducting the burial service. Eye, husband of Ikhnaton's nurse and once a prominent follower of the new faith, had recanted and was evidently one of the powers behind the throne during the brief reign of Tutenkhamon, with whom he may have reigned jointly for a time. But the military leader Harmhab, who next attained the throne and brought more lasting order in the land, seems really to have been the compelling force through whom Eye also may have been exalted.\*

<sup>\*</sup>See Winlock's brilliant reconstruction of Harmhab's career in Part II. of the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for Octo-ber, 1923.



An art student seated on the knees of one of the two statues of Rameses II. in the Luxor Temple sketching the portrait of King Tutenkhamon which appears in relief on the wall opposite

finish the investigation of the burial part of a figurehead. In these broad chamber in the Winter of the present aspects, as in countless details, the year; but operations were suspended tomb of Tutenkhamon, linked so closely pending a new agreement between Mr. with the great dreams of Ikhnaton, Carter and the Egyptian Government is re-creating for us moderns a vision settling the conditions under which the of the world's earliest achievement of Explorer and the Egyptian officials | spiritual and artistic freedom.

will cooperate. As the mixed court at Alexandria has ruled that the Government's withdrawal of its permit for the excavation is an administrative outside of court's jurisdiction, the Egyptian authorities remain at present in control of the tomb.

In art, the tomb Tutenkhamon has already increased far more than one could have dared to hope our knowledge of and enthusiasm for Egypt's most striking episode of culmination and decline. In religion it has emphasized the completeness of the official return to orthodoxy. More light on the processes of mummification and the personal aspects of Egyptian belief will come from study of the body and of its ornaments and amulets. Determination of Tutenkhamon's approximate age at death will help to clear our understanding of the political crisis which, as we now

It had been Howard Carter's hope to believe, the young King played the



By CORDELL HULL Chairman of the Democratic National Committee

meet every four years to nominate the candidates of the different parties for President and Vice President are an extra-constitutional device made necessary by the lack in the Constitution of any reference to political parties or to the conditions under which candidates for Presidential or Vice Presidential office shall be chosen. The Constitution provides for the designation by each State, in such manner as the Legislature shall determine, of electors equal in number to the Senators and Representatives to which the State is entitled, and requires a majority vote of the whole number of electors for the choice of a President; but regarding the important question of bringing forward candidates and insuring unanimity among a majority, at least of the electors, the Constitution is silent. Broadly speaking, there is no politics in the Constitution.

The omission of provisions for nomination was doubtless due, in considerable part, to the general expectation that Washington would be the first President, and as long as Washington was willing to serve, the question of nomination presented no immediate diffi-The need of some better device than reliance upon nation-wide popularity was foreshadowed, however, even in the first election, when John Adams, the successful candidate for Vice President, although chosen by a large plurality, as the Constitution at first allowed, actually received less than half the total number of electoral votes; and with the refusal of Washington in 1796 a convention composed of members of

THE national conventions which to accept a third term, the problem of developing a national nominating machinery was presented for solution.

> As has frequently happened in our political history, the method eventually adopted was preceded by a series of ex-In the absence of easy periments. means of communication between the different parts of the country and of newspapers with much circulation outside their place of publication, the only body that represented the public opinion of the country and that at the same time was able to deliberate was Congress. Under these circumstances a caucus of party members of Congress for the consideration and endorsement of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates was a natural development, and until the election of 1824 the Congressional caucus was the principal, and, in the main, the only piece of national nominating machinery employed.

> There was always criticism of the Congressional caucus, partly because of the perpetuation of the so-called "Virginia hierarchy" (Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe), but more because of a growing feeling that the selection of Presidential and Presidential candidates was not the proper business of Congress. In the States, meantime, the idea of a convention was developing. The origin of the convention as a means of massing public opinion goes back to Colonial times, but the use of a convention for the nomination of candidates seems to date from 1808, when the opponents of Governor McKean of Pennsylvania called

the party in the Legislature and delegates from counties which had no legislative representatives. In the course of the next few years the idea underwent further development in New York and other States.

#### CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS DISCREDITED

The end of the old dispensation came with the election of 1824. The "era of good feeling" which characterized the second Administration of Monroe was in reality a period marked by the breaking down of old party lines and the rise of factional, sectional and personal followings and controversies, all of which came to a head when a successor to Monroe was to be chosen. The multiplicity of candidates, together with the confused state of party lines, gave to the election the name of "the scrub race for the Presidency," and the attempt of the friends of one of the candidates, William H. Crawford Georgia, to revive the Congressional caucus, which was already discredited, completed the extinction of that insti-The Democrats of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, went on record in favor of "a convention of delegates from all the States of the Union" as "the best and most unexceptionable method," although admitting that it would be "entirely impracticable, from the immense extent of our country, and from the great expense necessarily incident to an attendance from the extreme parts of the United States." United States possessed only twentythree miles of railway in 1830, six years after this resolution was adopted, the difficulties referred to were obviously

For the next few years there was little talk of machinery. The election of John Quincy Adams by the House of Representatives in 1825, no one of the candidates having received a majority of the electoral votes, made Jackson the foreordained candidate in 1828 of the party which was shortly to take the name of Democrats, and no convention was needed to make his victory either certain or complete. Four years later, however, the situation had changed. Were Presidential electors in each State, which should meet in Baltimore in May, 1832, "to nominate a candidate for Vice President and take such other measures in support of the re-election of Andrew Jackson as may be deemed expedient." The nomination of Jackson to succeed himself was a foregone conclusion, and the only controversy in the convention was over Jackson's demand for the nomination of Van Buren as Vice President and take such other measures in support of the re-election of Andrew Jackson as may be deemed expedient." The nomination of Jackson to succeed himself was a foregone conclusion, and the only controversy in the convention was over Jackson's demand for the nomination of Van Buren as Vice President and take such other measures in support of the re-election of Andrew Jackson as may be deemed expedient."

Jackson found himself confronted in 1832 not only with the short-lived Anti-Masonic Party, but also with a more important Opposition Party which had taken the name of National Republicans and was shortly to be known as the Whigs, and the contest brought the national convention at last into the field. The Anti-Masons held two conventions, the first in 1830 at Philadelphia, with ninety-six delegates representing ten States, and the second at Baltimore in 1831, with an increased membership intended to equal the total of Senators and Representatives from the States represented. The National Republicans in turn held a convention at Baltimore in 1831, with 167 delegates representing somewhat irregularly seventeen States. Neither of these conventions adopted a platform, the honor of formulating a statement of principles and policies to which the name platform can properly be applied being reserved for a national convention of young men which, meeting at Washington in May, 1832, at the suggestion of the National Republicans, adopted a series of resolutions which constitute the first national party platterm in our history.

With the Anti-Masons and National Republicans committed to the convention system, there was nothing for the Jackson adherents to do but to follow Acting upon the suggestion of Major Lewis, a member of Jackson's "kitchen cabinet," the members of the New Hampshire Legislature who supported Jackson met in June, 1831, and recommended a convention, to be composed of as many delegates as there were Presidential electors in each State, which should meet in Baltimore in May, 1832, "to nominate a candidate for Vice President and take such other measures in support of the re-election of Andrew Jackson as may be deemed expedient." The nomination of Jackson to succeed himself was a foregone conclusion, and



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WILLIAM M. BUTLER Chairman of the Republican National Committee

point assured the nomination of Van Buren for President in 1836.

#### ORIGIN OF TWO-THIRDS RULE

The Democratic Convention of 1832 did not adopt a platform, perhaps because of the sharp difference of opinion regarding Jackson's course with the Bank of the United States. It did, however, adopt a rule which was to have lasting effect upon the convention sys-Presidency, to a number of votes equal influence upon the new Democratic

to the number to which they will be entitled in the electoral colleges, under the new apportionment, in voting for President and Vice President; and that two-thirds of the whole number of the votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice." The first part of this rule has been observed by all subsequent conventions of all parties, whatever the number of delegates actually present; where rival delegations have both been seated, as has occasionally happened, each member of each delegation has been accorded a onehalf vote in order to preserve the required number. The two-thirds rule has been followed by all subsequent Democratic Conventions, although it-has not found favor with other parties.

With the election of 1832 the national nominating convention was fairly launched. Irregularities in the number of delegate's disappeared after a few years, and the adoption of a platform, sometimes before and sometimes after the candidates had been selected, became the almost universal rule. It required a longer time to attain uniformity in the choice of delegates, now everywhere made by State conventions of the party, and as late as 1864 some of the delegates to the Republican Convention were chosen by party members of the State Legislatures. The timely summoning of State conventions in important States, with a view to influencing party action in other States or the action of the national convention itself, was early resorted to and has continued, together with the custom of holding the national conventions in the early Summer, the Republican Convention usually coming first. Baltimore was a favorite convention city until the Civil War, but New York, as the commercial and financial metropolis, was out of favor until the present year, with the exception of the Democratic Convention of 1868, while among Western cities Chicago and St. Louis have usually been preferred.

The Democratic Convention of 1832 served in another important respect as The rule provided "that each a kind of model. One of the main rea-State be entitled, in the nomination to sons for holding a convention in that be made of a candidate for the Vice year was to aid Jackson to impose his Party in the nomination of Van Buren for the Vice Presidency. The precedent of administrative influence thus established has been followed, except in 1896, in most of the nominating conventions of the party of which the President was a member, although with varying degrees of thoroughness in its application and with a tendency on the whole. since 1896, to keep the influence of either the President or Congress from becoming predominant. This tendency has been aided by the decline of the spoils system and by the appearance of factional divisions within the two great parties.

Save for the continued domination of his party by Jackson, the Presidential campaign of 1836 was uneventful. The Democrats held a convention and nominated Van Buren, while the nomination of William Henry Harrison by the Whigs was accomplished informally through State conventions or the action of State Legislatures. Neither party had a platform. The "log cabin and hard cider" campaign of 1840, with its Whig slogan of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," was the liveliest that the country had yet known, but the national conventions were not exciting. Neither the Abolition Party, which appeared for the first time in this election, nor the Whig Party adopted platforms, and the Democrats, who had renominated Van Buren for President, were unable to agree upon a Vice Presidential candi-The nomination of John Tyler of Virginia by the Whigs as their Vice Presidential candidate turned out to be a party calamity. Tyler was a Democrat who had broken with his party on the question of supporting Van Buren, and who, on that account, seems to have fancied that he was a Whig, but when, a month after the inauguration, President Harrison died and Tyler became President, he fell back upon his original principles and thereby brought on a break with the Whigs, which continued throughout his Administration.

#### ADOPTION OF PLATFORMS

The Spring of 1844 found the Whig Party apparently hopelessly divided over the question of the annexation of change their votes, and Polk was unani-



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CORDELL HULL
Chairman of the Democratic National
Committee

Texas. A treaty of annexation had been laid before the Senate in April, but before the Democratic and Whig conventions met in May, Van Buren, who was regarded as sure of the Democratic nomination, and Henry Clay, who was certain to be nominated by the Whigs, had gone on record as opposed to annexation at the cost of a war with Mexico. After nine ballots without result the name of Van Buren was withdrawn, and the first "dark horse," in the person of James K. Polk of Tennessee, was brought forward, a "stampede" tollowed as delegations hastened to change their votes, and Polk was unani-



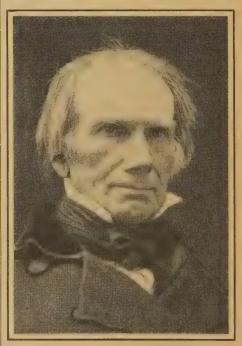
ANDREW JACKSON President of the United States, 1829-37; the first successful candidate for President who was nominated by a national convention, namely, by that of the Democrats at Baltimore in 1832

mously nominated. The telegraph, lately opened between Baltimore, the convention city, and Washington, was used to convey the news to the capital, and a message of congratulation was received in the marvelously short time of twenty minutes. Clay received the unanimous support of the Whig convention, and the Abolitionists, now known as the Liberty Party, also nominated candidates. The adoption of platforms by all three parties fixed that procedure as one of the regular duties of a convention thereafter.

Polk was a masterful politican, but he could not insure the success of his party in the face of the "free soil" antislavery sentiment which the war with Mexico had strengthened, and he was not himself a candidate for renomination. The year 1848 saw no fewer than seven parties in the field—the Liberty Party, the Abolition Party and the Liberty League, representing factional the Presidential election in 1832, when the views on the question of slavery; the candidates for the first time were nominated by national conventions Party, the Abolition Party and the Lib-

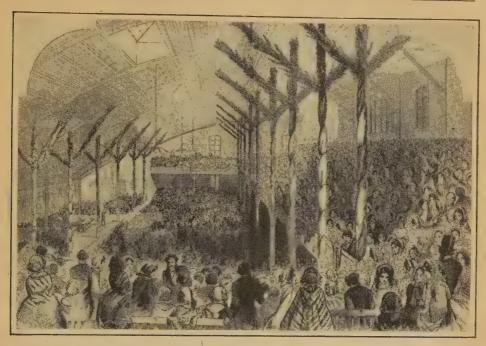
Free Soil Party, a precursor of the present Republican Party in its opposition to slavery and its support of a protective tariff; the Native American Party, hased upon opposition to foreigners and to certain religious views; an Industrial Congress, which nominated antislavery candidates, and the Democrats. The conventions were without special interest save for the necessity of reconciling factional disputes, and the nomination and election of General Zachary Taylor by the Free Soilers gave the party a candidate and a President whose only claim to leadership was his military record and who was said never to have cast a vote. The Vice President, "a Mr. Millard Fillmore of New York," as a recent historian has described him, completed the Presidential term upon the death of Taylor in 1850.

From 1852 until 1876 the national conventions of all parties were materially affected either by the slavery question, by Civil War conditions, or by



Brown Bros.

HENRY CLAY



Scene at the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1860 when Lincoln was nominated for President

the problems of reconstruction. The Democrats also met in convention and Democrats, defeated and apparently disrupted in the election of 1848, pulled themselves together in support of the slavery compromise measure of 1850, and by the time the convention met at Baltimore in 1852 had carried enough elections in the States to make it reasonably certain that their Presidential candidate would be successful at the polls. On the thirty-fifth ballot, with Lewis Cass of Michigan in the lead but far short of a majority, the fifteen votes of Virginia were cast for Franklin Pierce, a New Hampshire "dark horse" who had been carefully groomed, and on the forty-ninth ballot a "stampede" gave Pierce all but six of the 288 votes. The Whigs, who had already lost the radical anti-slavery support by their attempt to straddle the slavery compro- Administration had run half its course mises, and who now dug their political the new party, taking the name Repubgrave by accepting in their platform the lican, had been organized in Michigan odious fugitive slave law, finally nomi- and was spreading into other States. In nated General Scott on the fifty-third the meantime another new party, taking ballot, only to go down to overwhelm the name of Native Americans (popuing defeat in the election. An anti-larly known as Know Nothings), was

nominated candidates, but no electoral votes were won by the party in the election.

# REPUBLICAN PARTY ESTABLISHED

The complications of the Democratic Party with respect to the slavery question, together with the practical obliteration of the Whig Party in the election of 1852, opened the way for the formation of a new party which, if it could not count upon support in the South, might hope to become a rallying point elsewhere in the country for those who opposed the further territorial extension of slavery and at the same time favored the "loose" or "broad" constitutional views of the Whigs and the earlier Federalists. Before the Pierce slavery party known as the Free Soil attempting to revive the political issues



The Democratic National Convention that at San Francisco on July 6, 1920, nominated James M. Cox for President and Franklin D. Roosevelt for Vice President

religious sects which had been prominent some years before, while the Democratic Party was threatened with a split over the slavery question. The split was an accomplished fact in New York, where the two factions were known as the "hards" and the "softs," and the political intrigues which preceded the meeting of the convention were among the greatest that the party has ever known.

The Know-Nothing Convention, after an angry discussion of the right of the National Council of the party to adopt a platform, nominated Fillmore. The Democratic Convention opened with a fight, members of a contesting Misdoorkeeper when their entrance to the hall was opposed, but a rebuke from and given half votes. Pierce, whose President would be chosen.

of opposition to foreigners and certain candidacy had been strongly supported in the South, failed to hold his own in the balloting, and on the seventeenth ballot James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who had the advantage of having been Minister to England while Pierce had been wrestling with the strife of pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces in Kansas, was nominated. The Republican Convention at Philadelphia resembled a mass meeting in the enthusiasm of the delegates and the looseness with which the credentials of members were examined, and the nomination of Fremont, popularly known, from his career as an explorer and soldier, as "the pathfinder," had little to commend it. The fact that Frémont had also received the souri delegation knocking down the nomination of the Native Americans was one of the reasons for his selection. The Republican campaign recalled that the presiding officer led to their retire—of 1840 in its popular demonstrations, ment. The "hards" and "softs" from but victory lay with the Democrats. No New York, who had waited to see how one foresaw that twenty-eight years the matter would end, were both seated would pass before another Democratic

the shadow of civil war. The Republicans, emphasizing tariff protection as well as anti-slavery in their platform, turned away from William H. Seward of New York, whose candidacy had at first appeared to be strongly supported. and nominated Lincoln, favorably but not widely known for his exposition of Republican anti-slavery doctrine in a series of public debates with Stephen A. Douglas in a Senatorial contest in Illinois. The sectional character of the party—a character which all parties hitherto had as a rule labored to avoid —was emphasized by the nomination of Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for the Vice Presidency. The Democrats, meeting first at Charleston and then at Baltimore, split over the issue of secession, the regular convention at Baltimore nominating Douglas on what amounted to a union platform, while a rival convention nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky on a platform which opened the way to secession. A Constitutional Union Party, meeting in convention at Baltimore, nominated candi-

The conventions of 1860 met under | dates on a platform calling for nothing more definite than "the Constitution of the country, the union of the States and the enforcement of the laws"-principles, as has well been said, to which no American party had ever been opposed, but the announcement of which at the time represented nothing but a compromise in which only the remnant of the old Whigs, who chiefly composed the party, were interested. The campaign was intense rather than exciting, its principal party interest centring in the efforts of the Northern Democrats to form fusion tickets in doubtful States.

### GRANT'S TRIUMPH

It was inevitable that the Republicans should renominate Lincoln in 1864, notwithstanding a good deal of criticism of his Administration, and it was equally incumbent upon the Northern Democrats, who as a whole had loyally supported the war, to maintain their party organization and nominate candidates, even though for the time being they could not hope to carry an election. Ac-



The Republican National Convention of 1920 at the moment of being called to order at Chicago on June 8

the Democratic Convention of 1864 developed any striking incidents. The violent quarrel which speedily broke out President Johnson and Congress eliminated Johnson as a possible candidate of the Republicans, and the Chicago convention of the party merely registered an overwhelming party sentiment Horace Greeley, editor of The New in nominating General Grant. The uncovering of a portrait of Grant behind the presiding officer's chair transformed The Prohibition Party, long a disturban enthusiastic convention into a cheer- ing factor in close States, but doomed ing crowd. The Democratic Convention, meeting at Tammany Hall, New York ning of any electoral votes was con-City, ended three days of balloting with a "stampede" in favor of Horatio Seymour of New York, the President of the convention, and the changes of votes made his nomination unanimous. A historian of the convention gives it as

cordingly neither the Republican nor campaign carefully planned, but rather a genuine support of one of the strongest leaders of the party.

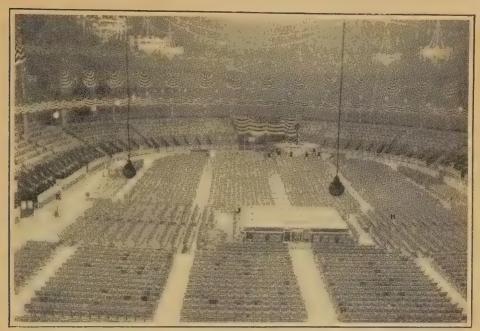
The Republicans renominated Grant after the death of Lincoln between in 1872 with the same enthusiasm with which they had nominated him in 1868. but the real interest of the campaign centred in the appearance of a Liberal Republican Party which nominated York Tribune, and in the duplication of Greeley's nomination by the Democrats. to repeated failure, so far as the wincerned, made its first appearance in this campaign. The death of Greeley soon after the election left his electoral supporters at sea, but the election of Grant was already a foregone conclusion.

Popular interest in the conventions of his opinion that the nomination of Sey- 1876 was confined chiefly to the conmour was not, like those of Polk in 1844 vention of the Republicans, whose proand Garfield in 1880, a "dark horse" nounced opposition to any Administra-



Wide World Photos

The Public Hall, Cleveland, where the Republican National Convention of 1924 is to be held



Wide World Photos

Interior of Madison Square Garden, New York City, where the Democratic National Convention will take place this year

nounced opposition to James G. Blaine, and a demand for "reform within the party," eventually brought about the nomination of Hayes. The nomination of Tilden by the Democrats was practically assured by the support of a majority of the delegates before the convention met and the lack of strong opposition among the others. Another new party, that of the Independent Nationals, or Greenbackers, emerged in this election and nominated candidates, but polled no electoral votes. Though the extraordinary controversy which ensued in Congress over the counting of the votes raised constitutional and political questions of serious importance, this was nothing which either convention could foresee.

The near victory of the Democrats, or what they claim was a victory, in 1876-77 was regarded by many as presaging an early return of the party to power, but the success of the Republicans in the controversy over the electoral count, together with the subsidence made by acclamation.

tion candidate, an almost equally pro- of political excitement in the South, gave the Republicans a new lease of life, and the nomination of Garfield in 1880, although it was achieved only on the thirty-sixth ballot, was greeted with Toward Tie Vice Presienthusiasm. dential candidate, Arthur, on the other hand, the country was cold. The Greenback convention was without incident, and no important newspaper thought it worth while to report the convention of the Prohibitionists. The Democrats were embarrassed by uncertainty as to whether or not Tilden would again be a candidate, and by a cryptic letter, made public as the convention met, in which Tilden "renounced," but did not directly refuse, a nomination. In a controversy over the status of rival New York delegations, one "regular" and the other "Tammany" (the latter openly hostile to Tilden), the Tammany delegation was excluded. Hancock, the Presidential candidate, was nominated on the second ballot, while the nomination of English for the Vice Presidency was

# REPUBLICANS' NEW RULES

The "Mugwump" campaign of 1884 would very likely have spelled victory for the Democrats, even without Cleveland as a candidate, for the death of Garfield, the extraordinary incidents which attended the trial of the assassin Guiteau, the popular criticism of Arthur, and the unearthing of the "Star Route" and other scandals, together with the factional quarrel between "Stalwarts" and "Half-breeds" in New York, combined to make a load which the Republicans could hardly expect to carry with success. The main interest of the Republican Convention, aside from the nomination of Blaine, lay in the adoption by the convention of a rule excluding from membership in the National Committee all persons ineligible to serve as electors, requiring the election of delegates in Congressional districts to be held in the same manner as elections for members of Congress, and providing for the election of delegates-at-large by State conventions. The first part of the rule, which affected Federal officeholders, including Senators and Representatives, was regarded as a blow at official control of the party; the second part ended the practice of dividing State conventions for the choice of district delegates. another "third party," that of the Anti-Monopolists, appeared in the field; the Greenbackers, or National Party, again nominated candidates; and there were two conventions and two sets of nominations of the Prohibitionists, only one of which, however, actually appeared in the election.

The Democratic Convention of 1888, held at St. Louis, renominated Cleveland by resolution without the formality of a ballot. A spectacular contest for the Vice Presidential nomination between the supporters of Governor Grav of Indiana, who appeared in the convention wearing white hats as badges, of Ohio, who espoused the "red banhad been anticipated, notwithstanding vided the main issues for the Repub-

the fact that Blaine had withdrawn his candidacy, but the nomination of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana was achieved without incident on the eighth ballot.

The victory of the Republicans was followed by a period of intense factional disturbance within the party; with Harrison himself, Blaine, the Secretary of State, and Thomas B. Reed, the Speaker of the House, as personal storm In New York, the vote of which State was necessary to Democratic success, the party machinery was controlled by Governor David B. Hill, himself a candidate for the Presidency. The calling of a "snap convention" in New York four months before the meeting of the national convention at Chicago was intended to insure a solid delegation for Hill, but the "anti-snappers," who favored Cleveland, vigorously protested, and conventions in other States indicated a strong Cleveland trend. The Chicago convention, after a sharp struggle over a tariff plank in the platform, nominated Cleveland on the first ballot at daylight. The spread of "third party" sentiment was indicated by the appearance of two new parties, the People's Party and the Socialists.

The campaign of 1896 brought the issue of free silver. At the Republican Convention in St. Louis the silver delegates, headed by Senator Teller of Colorado, walked out of the hall when the convention rejected a free coinage plank. At Chicago, a few days later, Mr. Bryan swept the Democratic Convention off its feet with his famous "crown of thorns" and "cross of gold" speech, and on the fifth ballot, after seventy-eight delegates had changed their votes, was nominated for the Presidency. The People's Party Convention. its irregular membership determined by the votes polled by the party in State elections, reversed the usual order of procedure by first nominating a candidate for the Vice Presidency, after and the partisans of Judge Thurman which it accepted Mr. Bryan. The personality of Mr. Bryan, who was again dana" which the Judge was in the habit nominated by the Democrats in 1900, of using after taking snuff, ended in the did something to keep the free silver nomination of Thurman. A stampede issue alive, but the war with Spain and for Blains in the Republican Convention | the insurrection in the Philippines pro-

licans, and the only notable feature of advised his followers to support the the Republican Convention, aside from regular Republican nominee, Mr. Justhe renomination of McKinley, was the tice Charles Evans Hughes of the Suchoice of Roosevelt as the Vice Presi- preme Court of the United States. The dential candidate. By the time the conventions of 1904 arrived, free silver as an issue was quiescent, the "paramount issue" of imperialism had been settled, and the personal popularity of Roosevelt overshadowed every other Republican candidate. The Democratic Convention, in spite of the determined opposition of Mr. Bryan, nominated Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, a gold standard supporter, on a platform which said nothing about the coinage system.

## Conventions of Recent Years

The echoes of the conventions of 1908 and 1912 still resound. Forty-six min-utes of cheering and pandemonium failed to stampede the Republican Convention of 1908 for Roosevelt or impede the nomination of Mr. Taft, while eighty-seven minutes of applause at the Democratic Convention at Denver, when Mr. Bryan's name was proposed, only delayed his unanimous nomination. Four years later a split in the Republican Convention in Chicago, after President Taft had been renominated on the first ballot, resulted in a second convention under the name of the Progressive, or "Bull Moose" Party, as it came to be known, which nominated former President Theodore Roosevelt. The Democratic Convention at Baltimore in 1912 was prolonged by a strenuous contest between Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey and Speaker Champ Clark of the National House of Representatives as the two leading candidates for the Presidential nomination. Although Speaker Clark obtained a majority of the delegates, Governor Wilson was nominated on the forty-sixth ballot, receiving in the election which followed 435 electoral votes, as against 88 for Colonel Roosevelt and 8 for President Taft.

Although the Republican breach was somewhat healed in 1916, the Progressive Party, after failing to induce the regular Republicans to agree to a joint nomination, again nominated Colonel

campaign marks a precedent in national politics by reason of the resignation of Mr. Hughes from the Supreme Court to accept a Presidential nomination. President Wilson was renominated by the Democrats by acclamation. The effective Democratic slogan that year was "He kept us out of war." The result of the election was in doubt for several days until the official returns from California insured the re-election of President Wilson. It is interesting to note that Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, who was to become Wilson's successor in the Presidential office, presided over the Republican Convention in 1916.

In the Republican Convention of 1920 General Leonard Wood was the leading candidate, with Governor Lowden of Illinois second and Senator Harding in fifth place, but Senator Harding was nominated on the tenth ballot. It required forty-four ballots to bring about the nomination of Governor James M. Cox of Ohio at the Democratic National Convention of 1920, on the eighth day of the convention. Governor Cox canvassed the country, but Senator Harding made chiefly a "front-porch campaign." The issue by many was supposed to turn upon the Covenant of the League of Nations, but many still think that there was no clear-cut division of the voters upon this subject. The Democratic candidate and the Democratic platform favored the ratification of the World Peace Treaty negotiated by President Wilson at Versailles and the dominant element of the Republican Party opposed it in the campaign. The issue, however, was obscured by many other questions and conditions, including a manifesto, issued by thirty-one leading Republicans, declaring in substance that Senator Harding's election would result in America's entry into the League of Nations. The prediction was unfulfilled. Vice President Coolidge, who became President on the death of Roosevelt, who, after several weeks' de-liberation, declined the nomination and of Nations to be "a dead issue."

# "Backward" Peoples Under the Mandate System

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Instructor, Department of Government, Harvard University; author of "Contemporary French Politics" and "The Washington Conference"

ent year of 1924, some 280,000,000 white people are directly or indirectly controlling the destinies of more than 900,000,000 yellows, browns and blacks inhabiting the mysterious Continents of Africa and Asia, not to mention other tropical and subtropical parts of the world. The whites justify this imperialistic control on the ground of economic necessity-the raw materials of the "backward regions" are necessary for a hungry, overpopulated world.

Few serious-minded people really believe that the whites should immediately terminate this control. Even Lord Olivier, the Socialist Secretary of State for India, has recognized its necessity.

Freedom of access to and exploitation of these natural resources is now generally recognized as a common right of mankind, and no true friend of primitive races would propose entirely to exclude or to withdraw European intercourse and influence from them, or even to hand back to them, at this period, that unregulated and unsupported responsibility for their own governance under which slave trading, brigandage and internecine violence were rampant.

It is indisputable, however, that these backward regions have caused a large number of violent disputes in history, and that they were a main cause of the last war. The "advanced" powers, including the United States and Japan, have become embroiled in controversies over the exploitation of these regions, differences primarily involving the principle of the Open Door. Native peoples have accused white Governors of misrule and economic exploitation.

T is a striking fact that, in this pres- dously complex relationship existing between the ten colonial powers and the millions of colored men under their control. Indeed, this problem has already been thrust upon the League in the case of some 6,500,000 Arabic and Kurdish peoples taken away from Turkey and of about 11,000,000 natives of Africa and inhabitants of islands in the Pacific taken away from Germany as a result of the last war. The League has not been entrusted with the actual government of these peoples, a task which an international body could scarcely assume. From the administrative standpoint they are divided into thirteen different groups called "mandates," each under the "tutelage" of a single power. France has received a mandate over three such groups-two in Africa and one in Syria. The British Empire proper has received a mandate over five groups—three in Africa, one in Palestine and one, Nauru Island, in the Pacific. In addition, the Union of South Africa has a mandate over Southwest Africa, New Zealand over Samoa, and Australia over former German New Guinea and the neighboring islands. Japan has a mandate over the former German islands in the Northern Pacific, while Belgium has "tutelage" over part of former German East Africa.

The powers, it is prescribed, govern these peoples "on behalf" of the League as a "sacred trust of civilization." To the cynic and to the "realist" the covenant embodying these principles consists only of fine-spun words employed to hide an imperialism which If the League of Nations is to be- old-style diplomats would have hesicome a really effective agency of world tated to proclaim. The mandate system, peace, it cannot ignore the tremen in the eyes of its critics, is nothing but

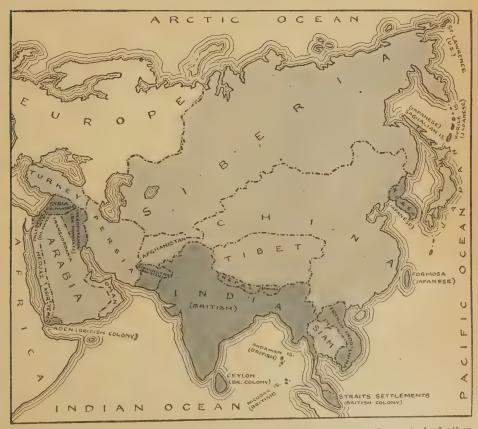
disguised annexation of territory for- according to the report of the Mandates merly belonging to Germany and to Turkey and taken by the Allies as a spoil of war.

# TERRITORIES NOT ANNEXED.

before the system came into operation, were hasty and ill-founded. If this territory had been annexed, the nationality of its inhabitants would have been transferred to that of the annexing power. The Council of the League of Nations, however, decided, in April, 1923, that the nationality of these peoples shall, in every case, be distinct from that of the governing power. If this territory had been annexed, title to the reduce the dangers of war arising from highly valuable public lands of these territorial disputes. Once in control of regions would have been transferred to land rich in rubber or oil, a power is the annexing power, instead of which, tempted to shut the door on all out-

Commission on land tenure, this land is being held in trust for the natives themselves. If this territory had been annexed, budget balances could have been transferred to the annexing power; Such judgments, formed ordinarily but the Mandates Commission has been careful to insist that all balances in the government of mandated territories shall be held in reserve for the natives. It is clear that there has been no annexation.

> Though the actual government of the subject peoples is in the hands of the mandatory powers, these powers are obliged to fulfill certain obligations imposed by the League in an attempt to



Map of Asia showing how much territory is in the possession or under the control of other countries. The light shading indicates independent States or nations; the dark shading lands that are either colonies, mandated territories or under some other form of external control. Though most of Asia is independent, considerable influence is exercised by foreign powers in different regions

siders. With the principle of the Closed Door established, powers inevitably strive to obtain political control of the territory and war is often the outcome. Ordinarily the Closed Door means discriminatory tariff policies and withholding concessions from foreigners. So far as tariffs are concerned, the Closed Door is observed today in the colonies of France, Japan, the United States, Spain, Portugal and Italy. Even within the British Empire-chief defender in the past of this economic faith—the Closed Door exists in the Dominions in the form of imperial preference and in twenty-six crown colonies. The only exponents of the colonial Open Door are the little countries of Belgium and the Netherlands.

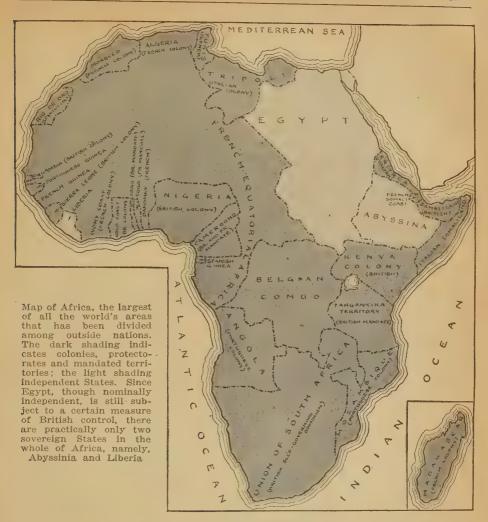
The League has taken a stand against the present world-wide tendency toward monopoly. With the exception of the mandates in the Pacific and in Southwest Africa—Class C mandates—it has imposed the Open Door régime on all the territory taken from Germany and Turkey as a result of the last war. In the past a number of international treaties have been signed bearing on application of the Open Door principle in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, but the terminology employed has been too vague to make these treaties effective. The League has defined explicitly what it means by the Open Door. Any foreigner whose Government belongs to the League may enter and reside in a mandated territory, acquire property exactly the same basis as a subject of for essential public works, while monopolistic concessions are rigorously cord, not excepting the Open Door treaty signed at the Washington conference, in defining what is meant by this than in the observance.

# BRITAIN FAVORS CLOSED DOOR

Nationalist sentiment, unfortunately, has been too strong to allow the Open Door régime in the Class C mandates. Today the opposite policy is being followed in these territories, as manifested in the British phosphate monopoly in Nauru Island and the tariff preference granted to British products in Samoa. The principle of the Closed Door here is a bad example, but no nation would go to war over this trade, because it is too small. It amounts to only \$27,000,-000 a year—one-thirteenth of the trade of the Philippines. In view of the world-wide approval of the Closed Door policy the League's success in imposing the Open Door on the most important mandates is noteworthy.

If colonies come to be used as military reservoirs from which black troops may be drawn to fight in European wars, they will also become a source of international bitterness. The Allies accused Germany of training black armies in Africa for this purpose. But this policy was actually advocated on behalf of France as far back as 1910 by General Mangin in his book, "La Force Noire" (Black Power). This practice, followed by the Allies in the last war. is now part of the permanent military policy of France. Should such a practice become universal, the rivalry of Europe and America for the control of raw man power in Africa will itself be productive of international disputes, not to mention the effect it will have upon and pursue a profession or trade upon the natives. For this reason the League insisted that in mandated territories the mandatory power. He has "com- natives must not be given military trainplete economic, commercial and indus-trial equality," whether in taxation or for defense of the territory in which commerce. There can be no discrimithey live. This principle applies to all nation in granting concessions, except the African and Pacific mandates except in French Togo and Cameroons, where France has insisted on the right forbidden. The League has gone fur to train natives in order to "repel an ther than any previous international ac- attack or for the defense of the territory outside of that subject to the mandate."

Though such a reservation is regretpolicy and in giving life to a principle table, it has been occasioned by the previously more honored in the breach French fear of the Rhine. It is not improbable that this right would be sur-



rendered if the Treaty of Mutual As-|closed, continue in bondage in the backsistance is adopted, giving France a ward regions of the world. This obli-League guarantee against attack.

in imposing on the mandatory powers French Cameroons. As a guard against obligations devised to protect the wel- the abusive labor system followed so fare of the natives. Under the Cove-long, if somewhat shamefully, by Pornant the mandatory powers are obliged tugal in the Cocoa Islands and by forto suppress abuses such as the slave, eign corporations in the Putumayo (bearms and liquor traffics. The actual tween Ecuador and Colombia), the texts of the mandates, defining the ob- League insists that the mandatory powligations of each mandatory, impose ers protect natives against fraud in four additional concrete obligations. labor contracts. To prevent the ré-Each power promises not only to pro- gime of forced labor so long counhibit the slave trade, but eventually to tenanced by King Leopold in the Congo emancipate slaves, thousands of whom, Free State, the League prohibits all the League's recent investigation dis-forced labor, except for essential pub-

gation has already been fulfilled in the The League has been more successful British mandate in Tanganyika and in policy of the French in Algeria or the British in Southern Rhodesia, League provides that no land shall be transferred from natives to non-natives without governmental consent, subject, of course, to the supervision of the League.

# WITCHCRAFT IS PROHIBITED

The mandatory powers, however. have not limited their activities to the fulfillment of these obligations. British have made witchcraft punishable in Tanganyika, where they have also established auction markets to do away with grasping middlemen. Education in the mandated territories is free, and in at least one mandate-Nauru-it is compulsory. In Syria, between January, 1919, and May, 1921, the French increased the number of schools from 14 to 1,609. Japan provides dormitories for some native school children in her Pacific mandate and grants a subsidy to Christian missions established there. The mandatory powers have established a council of notables, composed of native chiefs. In Samoa natives are eligible for membership in the Legislative Council.

The idea that the government of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves is a "sacred trust of civilization" is not new, having previously been recognized, at least verbally, by the British, French and American Governments in their treatment of dependencies. It was assumed as an international obligation in the General Act of Berlin of 1885, revised in September, 1919; under this compact seven great colonial powers agreed that, so far as Africa was concerned, "they will continue to watch over the preservation of the native populations and to supervise the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being." The importance of writing such a principle into an international treaty is that it converts what is otherwise a "domestic" question into an international obligation, the violation of which gives other powers the right to protest. But this

lic works. To avoid the harmful land | sions, never amounted to very much. France and Belgium misconstrued these provisions, interpreting them in such a manner as to allow them to establish semi-governmental monopolies of the great rubber resources of the Congo to the exclusion of foreign merchants. Both Governments declined the request of Great Britain that the difference in interpretation of the Act of Berlin be referred either to arbitration or to an international conference. Since no impartial institution had the power to interpret and to enforce these provisions, the Act of Berlin became a dead letter.

> In an attempt to overcome this weakness, the revised act of 1919 provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes relating to the application of the convention. But these obligations scarcely more justiciable than the question of what constitutes a "fair price" or a "reasonable return" is justiciable in an ordinary court of law. questions have led to the creation of a new type of administrative tribunal in America, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission or State public utility boards. Similarly, the League has established a new type of administrative tribunal, composed not of lawyers but of colonial experts.

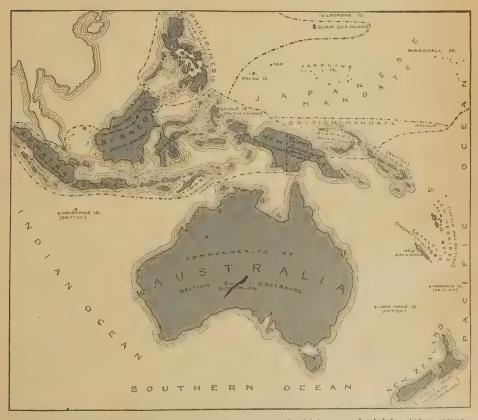
# MANDATE PRINCIPLE IN HISTORY

The distinctive feature of the mandate principle is the accountability of each of the mandatory powers to an impartial international body for the fulfillment of the obligations assumed. This, it should be pointed out, is not without past precedents, nor is the mandate principle itself new. Of its three forerunners, the British Empire presents the best example; here the administration of certain native communities has been entrusted to the Dominions, Administrators being responsible to the Colonial Office in London. An example is Papua, formerly British New Guinea, now under Australian jurisdiction. The administration of the Congo Free State. which offers another instance of earlier mandate rule, was theoretically made accountable in 1885 to the powers obligation, like the Open Door provi- who signed the General Act of Berlin. The mandate idea also appeared of his appointment. When Mr. Ormsbyin the Act of Algeciras of 1906, which established international control over Morocco. This act placed the control of the police in the hands of French and Spanish agents, subject to the inspection of Switzerland, and nually at Geneva, but its members are with the further obligation that they submit annual reports to the signatory powers. Article 22 of the League Covenant merely extends this idea: it makes the administration of the 18,000. 000 peoples taken from German and Turkish rule accountable to the League of Nations.

The chief cog in the machinery established for this purpose is the Permanent Mandates Commission composed of nine members, five of whom must come obligations which the mandatory Govfrom countries who do not hold man- ernments have assumed. It has deterdates, and none of whom shall be a mined whether the establishment of re-Government representative at the time ligious spheres of influence to stop

Gore became Under Secretary for the Colonies in the Baldwin Ministry in England, he was obliged to resign as the British member of the commission.

The Mandates Commission meets anconstantly kept in touch with the operation of the system through the mandates section of the secretariat, in charge of Professor Rappard, a Swiss, who was formerly a professor at Harvard. Each of the thirteen mandatories is required to submit to the League an annual report, which is carefully examined by the commission. In studying these different colonial reports, the commission is frequently obliged to interpret the



Map of portion of the Southern Pacific, all the lands of which are colonial in status, some, however, like Australia and New Zealand, being self-governing, others actual possessions, and others again held under mandates

the guarantee of religious freedom; whether the establishment of a customs union between a mandated territory and an adjacent colony is a violation of the Open Door principle; whether the voluntary enlistment of a native of a mandate territory in the army of an adjoining colony violates the military obligations of the mandatory power. Thus an authoritative, impartial body at last exists for the interpretation of obligations which became nugatory, because of the absence of such a body, in the Act of Berlin.

# COMMISSION'S TASK VARIES

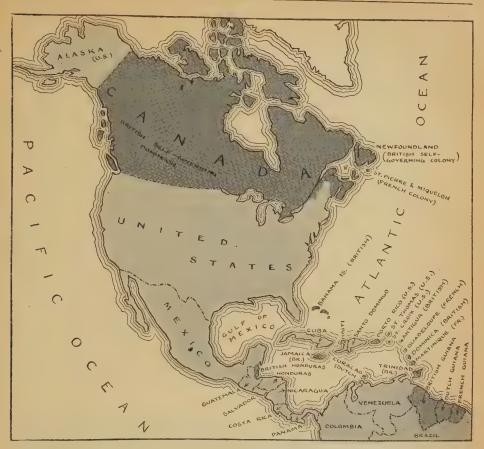
As part of its task of supervising the work of the mandatory powers, the Mandates Commission inquires into the entire spirit of the administration. It has made excellent surveys of land tenure, public health, education and labor in these territories. It has called attention to the dangers arising out of the presence of Chinese indentured labor in Samoa and the phosphate monopoly in Nauru, although neither is prohibited by the mandates themselves. The commission receives complaints from the native populations, subject to the limitation that they must first be transmitted to the Mandatory Govern-Societies, such as the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society of London, may protest directly to the commission.

In bringing out the facts of mandatory administration the commission calls attention to abuses in administration and to the violation of the obligations which these powers have assumed. The value of its service in this respect has been forcefully illustrated in the case of the Ruanda-Urundi frontier. In December, 1921, Belgium and Great Britain drew a boundary line between their mandates in former German East Africa, devised to give the British a right of way for the Cape-to-Cairo railroad. As a result of the division, however, the tribes of the native kingdom of Ruanda were cut in two, which of the Mandates Commission to this commission further believed that the

missionary quarrels is a violation of frontier at the 1922 meeting and asked that the boundary be modified. After inquiring into the question the commission placed the matter before the League Council, as a result of which Belgium and England agreed to change the frontier. This action was the outcome, not of any diplomatic haggling nor of ambitious manoeuvres by either power, but solely of a desire to advance the interests of the natives themselves.

A more difficult question presented itself in connection with the Bondelzwarts Rebellion of 1922 in the mandate of Southwest Africa, administered by the Union of South Africa, a British dominion. In 1921 the South African administrator imposed an excessive dog tax-\$5 for the first dog and \$50 for five dogs—which the Bondelzwarts tribe was unable to pay. Native agitators took advantage of the tax to stir up a "rebellion," which the South African authorities suppressed with a force of 390 men, four machine guns and two bombing planes. Sixteen bombs were dropped by the planes the first day, and more than a hundred men, women and children were killed. A black delegate from Haiti brought the incident to the attention of the Assembly of the League at its meeting in September, 1922. The Assembly unanimously passed a resolution calling on the Mandates Commission to consider the question. The South African Government also promised to investigate, but when the commission began its inquiry at its meeting of August, 1923, it found that the South African Government had failed to present an official report, and the only data before the commission was a report of a local commission of inquiry which the South African Government had disavowed, so that the Mandates Commission had no authoritative material upon which to base its study.

After a severe examination of Major Herbst and Sir Edgar Walton, the representatives of South Africa, the Mandates Commission presented a report to the Council which severely criticized the South African Government for its brought about great hardship and suf- failure to keep the promise it had made fering. Missionaries drew the attention to the Assembly. The majority of the



Map of North, Central and part of South America, the countries that are colonial in status being shown by the dark shading. The rest of South America not shown on this map consists entirely of independent republics

the South African authorities were unduly severe, and the report implied that no rebellion would have occurred had a more intelligent policy been followed. The Bondelzwarts affair was "such an incident as has occurred in the same territory at other periods"; but a new principle had come into existence with the mandate system, which the powers were obliged to recognize.

# AROUSING WORLD OPINION

Though the Mandates Commission did nothing spectacular in the Bondelzwarts affair, though it did not prevent the rebellion nor secure the immediate tional society. Such is the theory emadoption of all the remedies proposed, bodied in the League Covenant which it none the less established the responsibility of a mandatory power to the ples not yet able to stand by themselves

dog tax and other measures taken by outside world. As in the case of the Corfu affair, the machinery of the League may concentrate the burning light of world opinion on powers which otherwise might continue their timehonored practice of disregarding obligations with impunity.

> The opinion appears to be growing that the peoples inhabiting the tropical and subtropical regions are in the "adolescent" stage of development reached by the white peoples thousands of years ago; and that with proper encouragement and assistance the time will come when these darker peoples will reach an adult stage in internaspeaks of territories inhabited by "peo

modern world."

In the past a number of colonial powers promised that their control over such peoples would be relinquished as soon as the subject races reached the adult stage. England repeatedly promised to withdraw from Egypt before the war, and the United States has repeatedly promised the Philippines their independence when the requisite conditions Hitherto, however, a are fulfilled. colonial power has been the sole judge of when this stage is reached, and its judgment is likely to be biased by selfinterest, with the result that the promise is never kept. In the past, brute force has been the chief test of a people's capacity to govern itself. If it has been strong enough to throw off outside control it has become free. Transition from subjection to independence has been as abrupt as it has been violent.

The great problem before the League is not only the supervision of the training of backward peoples to governthemselves, but also the achievement of peaceful release from external control when that stage is reached. This problem already confronts the League in Syria and Palestine, "which have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone." The obligation to advance the political independence of these peoples has been recognized in the French mandate over Syria, where the authorities, in accordance with the mandate pledge, have established a Federal type of Government, containing a Federal council with five delegates from each State. That the Syrian Nationalists are dissatisfied with French rule has been recently made plain by the public utterances of Dr. Abdulrahman Shahbender, leader of the National movement for independence, in the United States. In the British mandate in Palestine, the situation has been complicated by the

under the strenuous conditions of the would mean death to the political aspirations of the Jews. Nevertheless, the British Government proclaimed a Palestine Order in Council in August, 1922, which established a Legislative Council of eleven official, nominated members, together with twelve unofficial members elected by Jews, Moslems, Christians and Arabs through an electoral college system followed in Oriental countries. An Arab boycott, however, forced the British to suspend the operation of this

> In both Syria and Palestine the Arabs have made bitter charges against allied "imperialism"; but whatever the selfish motives of France and England may be, it seems obvious that, had Syria and Palestine been given their complete "independence" in 1918, they would today be under the iron heel of Mustapha Kemal, subject to worse oppression than the Syrian persecutions of 1914. Yet with all respect for this fact, the League, to be really effective, must eventually secure self-government for these peoples when they are able to stand upon their own feet, and at the same time protect them from outside attack.

# POLICY TOWARD "COLORED" RACES

Whether because of the fear of a racial war or because of more generous impulses, the attitude of white toward colored peoples has undergone a great change since the end of the war. change has been marked by the revision of the Acts of Berlin and Brussels, and by the signing, at St. Germain in September, 1919, of new treaties suppressing the evils of the slave, liquor and arms traffics. It has been evident also in a great anti-slavery movement. initiated by the League, which has probably saved the independence of the negro kingdom of Abyssinia. France has done away with the old Consultative Conference in Tunis in favor of a more representative Grand Council. She has admitted native Algerians to French citizenship, subject to certain qualifications, and has abolished discriminatory taxes. Constitutional reorganization has question of Zionism; nine-tenths of the also been taking place in French Cochinpopulation being Arab, independence China, Senegal and Equatorial Africa.

The British Empire has promulgated under the Berlin treaty in most of the new Constitutions granting a greater degree of self-government in Southern Rhodesia, Malta, Ceylon, Burma and Nigeria. Sweeping reforms of a similar nature have taken place in the Dutch East Indies and in Italian Tripoli. It is impossible to ascribe these developments specifically to a new spirit fostered by the mandate system, but all have been part of the same movement to make really effective the principle of "trusteeship" in the government of the backward regions.

The mandate system itself may be extended and improved. The Pan-African Congress has suggested the addition of a negro member of the Mandates Commission, while Sir Frederick Lugard, formerly a distinguished British colonial administrator and now a member of the commission, has suggested that representatives from the United States would be valuable because of our experience with the negro in the South. The greatest improvement of the mandate principle would be its extension to all parts of the world. Already inter- tant step in solving the color problem national obligations have been assumed of the world.

African possessions. Article 23 of the Covenant of the League requires all members "to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control," but these obligations are still ineffective because they are not placed under the supervision of a body such as the Mandates Commission. One of the greatest possible steps toward world peace would be a treaty signed by the ten leading colonial powers, guaranteeing the Open Door in their colonies and just treatment of natives, as provided in the mandates themselves, subjust to the supervision of the Mandates Commission. Such a treaty is doubtless beyond the scope of practical politics at present, but at least it should be practicable to carry out the suggestion made by Sir Harry Johnston a number of years ago, to establish a great International Council of Advice which would recommend colonial policies for the powers to follow. The assumption of such duties by the Mandates Commission would be an impor-



Gilliams

The Library of the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva

# Political Methods of American and British Feminists

# By ANNE MARTIN

Leader of Nevada equal suffrage campaign, 1911-14; Chairman of National Woman's Party, 1918-17; Independent candidate for United States Senator from Nevada, 1918-20. In her earlier career Miss Martin was Professor of History and Lecturer on Art in the University of Nevada

THE election of women to national Legislatures may surely be taken as a milestone in the movement toward sex equality. At the last general election in Great Britain eight women won seats in the present Parliament. Nor are they representatives of only one of the three different parties-Conservative, Liberal and Labor-which are now vying for control in the imperial Legislature. All three parties are represented by women, and one of them has attained Ministerial rank in the Government headed by Ramsay MacDonald. On the other hand, what do we find in our own country? At the last national election in the United States none won seats in our present Congress. Mrs. Winifred Mason Huck was elected only for her father's unexpired term ending March 4, 1923. Mrs. Mae Nolan, the only woman in the present Congress, was chosen at a special election in 1923 to succeed her husband. Does this prove that conditions are more favorable in Great Britain than in the United States for women's political advancement and consequent progress toward the attainment of sex equality? The question is one that demands consideration, because American women have long been regarded as enjoying a far better position than their English sisters in practically every walk of life with this one exception of political activity. Yet, even here American women cannot claim they are at a disadvantage, even if the results they have shown are poor in comparison.

The laws giving women political opportunity are, in fact, more favorable in the United States than in Great Britain. Though English women have had the right to sit in Parliament only since 1918, American women of certain equal suffrage States have had the right for thirty years or more to sit in Congress, beginning with the admission of Wyoming to the Union in 1890. Steadily increasing millions were eligible for years before the ratification of the national suffrage amendment in 1920, but so far as I am aware no woman ventured to run for the House of Representatives until 1916, when Jeannette Rankin made her successful campaign in Montana, and no woman ran for the Senate until 1918, when I made my unsuccessful campaign in Nevada.

Women in the United States also have suffrage on the same terms as men, at the age of 21 years - a second more favorable condition. In Great Britain only those may vote who are 30 years of age or over. The fact that there are about 2,000,000 more women than men in that country may be a more helpful condition for the creation of mass feminine opinion, but the politicians have carefully guarded against its expression at the polls by the age restriction. Despite the inexorable fact of women's superior numbers, men must predominate. The age limit is not so much an expression of the politicians' low opinion of woman's intelligence as

of their determination to keep the ratio meeting), in Great Britain women have of female to male voters at about 75:100. In most of our States that ratio is much nearer 50:50.

POLITICAL GENIUS OF BRITISH WOMEN

Why, then, are British women more successful than American women in winning political advancement? The cause lies, I believe, in their greater political ability and more genuine sense of sex solidarity. These two factors seem largely due to something for which women are only partially responsible, namely, a difference in the "culture" of the two countries. Whatever we may think of the nature of political Government, of its aim or ability to create good lives for all the people, there is no doubt that the ruling classes of England have for centuries demonstrated a special genius for politics and diplomacy, a genius which their women inevitably must share. Politics in Great Britain, probably owing to the peculiar economic structure of the empire, has formed and still forms, more consciously than in any other country known to me, part of the fibre and substance of daily life. The average woman is better informed politically and has long been a more active force in politics. This is patent to any one who has lived in England, and is shown abundantly in many volumes of memoirs and biography written by both men and women. As I wrote not long ago in an article published elsewhere: "Men and women of the upper classes, at any rate, for generations have discussed politics on more or less equal terms, and with understanding and authority. 'What the country houses and London drawing rooms say today, the Government is likely to do tomorrow,' as Colonel Repington somewhere remarks." Whereas in the United States, until quite recently, women and the home have been almost completely divorced from politics (I can remember the time, less than a generation ago, when in many parts of the country it was regarded as "unwomanly" and therefore conspicuous for a woman to attend a public political which, by the way, women are not yet

for generations, though unenfranchised, taken a vigorous part in general elec-As members of their Primrose Leagues, their Tory and Whig, Conservative and Liberal clubs, they have gone straight out into the constituencies as canvassers and organizers, even mounting the platform as speakers, and have materially assisted the election of their husbands and friends to Parliament.

What is the reason for this greater freedom? Is it to be found somewhere in the differing natures of aristocracies and democracies, creating conditions that affect the political development of women? There is no doubt that women living under monarchical forms of government with hereditary aristocracies (or in countries which have until recently possessed that form) are forging ahead of American women. We need only survey the European field to note the comparatively large numbers of women who are taking part in national and local councils in England, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia, and the far more advanced laws for women and children in most of these countries. Is masculine jealousy of women more irritable in a democracy than in a monarchy? Mrs. Gertrude Atherton in her latest novel says it is, and she cannot be accused of being unduly prejudiced in favor of women. It is obvious that in social and political life developed by monarchies with hereditary aristocracies, men are accustomed to women who do not content themselves with playing a decorative rôle but who take an active part in politics, from queens in their own right and consorts of kings down through the lowest rank of aristocracy.

This, however, is not true of a democracy. American women are easily flattered by traveling foreigners and by their own compatriots into believing that their status is superior to that of Europeans, and are far too complacent over the "wonderful treatment" accorded them by American men. Alice Hamilton, the only woman member of the Harvard Medical School (to

true that American women receive unusual personal consideration from men. from their own men; but when, however well-equipped they may be, they aspire to the highest positions in business or the professions or politics, they very soon find that their fancied 'equality' is more or less theoretical, that men regard these departments of life as their own private preserve. In it they themselves are the fiercest competitors; so what chance for women, except in the lowest and most poorly paid positions?"

There is no doubt, too, that countries with hereditary aristocracies have an important means of social control lacking in democracies. Whether this control is desirable is another question. Professor William McDougall, the English sociologist, says in his "Introduction to Social Psychology": "In England the influence of the hereditary aristocracy in securing homogeneity of national thought, sentiment and custom has been very great. An Englishman notoriously loves a lord and imitates him; and although this national snobbishness lends itself to ridicule and has its bad aspects \* \* \* it has yet aided greatly in making the English people the most mentally homogeneous nation in the world, and so in bringing it further than any other along the path of evolution of a national self-consciousness and a truly national will." He further states that the aristocracy of intellect is today to some extent superseding the hereditary aristocracy as a factor in social control. The English people have developed wonderful leaders, and wonderful capacity to follow their leaders, who are drawn almost entirely from the hereditary aristocracy or the aristocracy of intellect. These facts apply also to the woman's movement of that country.

# THE CONTRAST IN LEADERSHIP

The American people, on the contrary, nearly always elevate to high office men of the simon pure American politician type. Also, the capacity for "following your leaders," whether good or bad, is weaker in the American

admitted), recently said to me: "It is characterize our man-made political State, inevitably characterize also our woman's movement. Our leaders, as shown by the record of our political advancement, are not so effective, nor are our women as a whole such good followers as those across the water. The theory of the American democracy that "all men (and women) are created equal," seems to act as a disruptive force. It undoubtedly has much to do with personal rivalries, with "splits" and the creation of rival organizations, with the failure of women to support qualified women candidates for Congress, with the lack of concentrated purpose and unity which characterizes the American movement as opposed to the British. Thus the differing cultures of Great Britain and the United States seem to shape the feminist movements in the two countries, and to direct them into different channels.

British women's superior powers of leadership and of following leaderswhich really means their superior statesmanship and sex solidarity—may, I think, be regarded as proved by the election of eight members of Parliament, representing all parties, under the handicap of a more recent acquisition of power by a proportionately smaller electorate than in the United States. In both countries the suffrage forces were split wide open during the fight for the vote into conservative and "militant" groups, by the injection of Mrs. Pankhurst's methods into both campaigns. In Great Britain this breach has been closed to such an extent that conservative organizations of voters, the successors of former suffrage organizations, now endorse and financially assist the candidacies of former "militants" to Parliament. In the United States this breach still remains open and the woman's political movement is divided into two opposing factions committed to rival policies, the National League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party.

The aim of the British movement is to win sex equality, and to do it as quickly and directly as possible by obtaining women's participation in govdemocracy. These two factors, which ernment on equal terms with men. Former suffrage societies as well as na-|great political and feminist achievetional women's organizations representing business, industrial, professional, church and welfare groups, were practically all combined two years ago through the Consultative Committee of Women's Organizations, under Presidency of Lady Astor, the object being to focus women's organized power on Parliament and on the country, directly through the committee and indirectly through its member societies. The Women's Freedom League, for example, whose silent picketing of the House of Commons during the Winter of 1910-1911 made the British fight for suffrage famous throughout the world, raised money and campaigned actively for women candidates for Parliament, irrespective of their political affiliations, in the recent election. action, marked by the same unity and determination, was taken by the Women's Election Committee, led by such outstanding figures as Dr. Christine Murrell, the Hon. Mrs. Gilbert Murray. and Professor Winifred Cullis, and by the Joint Election Committee of the National Council of Women and the National Union for Equal Citizenship, both representing various shades of former suffrage belief. Knowing that a large number of women cannot be elected to Parliament without an even larger number of candidates, and that local party leaders almost certainly will not accept an otherwise well-qualified woman if she cannot pay her campaign expenses of several hundred pounds, while a male aspirant can, these very practical and adroit organizations sought out qualified candidates, urged their acceptance on local party leaders, raised funds for their campaign expenses, and elected eight women, representing the Conservative, Liberal and Labor parties, some from constituencies which showed a heavily adverse party vote in the 1922 election!

# TRAINING IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

To an American eye the groundwork laid a generation or more ago by the Women's Local Government Society seems also a vital factor in this truly all discriminations against

ment. It was formed on a non-partisan basis "to promote the participation of women in local government throughout the United Kingdom." Under such eminent leaders as Lady Aberdeen, Miss Louisa Twining, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Lady Strachey and others, it succeeded long ago in placing women on Boards of Guardians, which administer the poor laws. In 1907 it won for women the right to serve "on every local authority," and thus years before the Parliamentary vote was won it secured the election of many women as county, town, urban, district and metropolitan borough councilors, and recently it was influential in securing the appointment of some 300 women as Justices of the Peace. The farsightedness of this work becomes apparent when we realize that an important qualification of women candidates for Parliament is their record as local Government officials. Miss Susan Lawrence, for example, who has just been elected as the first woman Labor member of Parliament for London, has been for some years a member of the London County Council, on which she made a splendid record in housing and labor problems. Since thousands of women have already served as members of local Government "authorities," a large body is trained and ready for Parliamentary work. The casual and haphazard election of a comparatively few American women as town, county and State officials, without the support of women's organizations, is in glaring contrast to the British method.

Though the avowed aim of the two great American organizations, the National League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party, is admirable, these organizations are so shortsighted and dull in action that it is difficult to write about them. The league has a program of welfare legislation and 'piecemeal" equality laws to be won bit by bit from the forty-eight State Legislatures. The Woman's Party is working only for its "blanket bill" before State Legislatures, designed to remove port from States to force through Congress its national amendment providing that "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." apparently still believe that "equality" can be legislated. As of old, the two societies are opposed in their policies of State versus national action, and have divided the women of the country into two camps, the league and its followers against the blanket bill and the constitutional amendment, which they say would sweep away all the "protective" legislation they have worked for years to have put on the statute books, the Woman's Party doggedly insisting that the chief effect of protective laws is to keep women in industry unorganized and out of the best-paid jobs, and that "blanket" equality laws are the panacea for woman's inferior position.

# Weakness Due to Disunion

The contest is being waged on a national scale in the press of the country, and by means of rival lobbies in State Legislatures and the halls of Congress. It has even been carried to the White House. President Coolidge is reported to have replied to a recent party delegation which urged his acceptance of the constitutional amendment as an Administration measure, that he had been asked by a group of no less earnest and determined women to do exactly the He suavely added that if they worked hard enough he was sure Congress would give them what they wanted. Politicians are quick to play off one faction against the other.

Another striking feature of the situation is, that though our leaders protest against the passionate zeal with which men legislators regulate the affairs of women, they themselves are trying to do the same thing. By what right does either group speak for women in industry, or women as a whole, in trying to get their respective programs through Congress? Their action is fully as autocratic as that of men legislators toward women, children, labor, negroes.

forthwith until it gathers enough support from States to force through Congress its national amendment providing that "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

Navajo Indians and other suppressed minorities. So long as our women leaders treat us all as wards or minors, there is no hope of really raising our status as a whole, no matter what laws they cajole out of male Legislatures.

# LACK OF SEX SOLIDARITY

The leaders of the Women's Rights Convention of 1848 based their campaign on the only possible policy, that of begging men legislators to put laws through for them. Now, in 1924, when the chief weapon for equality, the vote, is won and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the first Women's Right Convention has been celebrated, the leaders of our two organizations and their humble rank and file are still standing outside legislative halls, though entitled to sit inside; are still begging men legislators to put laws through for them, if not in the spirit, at least in the manner, of 1848. They will not even endorse qualified women for Congress, whatever their official attitude may be as regards equal representation in government. did not help Miss Rankin's 1916 campaign in Montana, nor my own campaign in Nevada in 1918. The National Woman's Party worked against me. Neither organization was apparently aware that there were any women candidates in 1920 and 1922. But the appointment of the estimable and venerable Mrs. Felton to the unexpired term of a deceased Senator from Georgia by Governor Hardwick was pronounced a gratifying victory"—an appointment which enabled her to sit in the Senate for a few hours, which she utilized to praise the chivalry of men! Yet the political world knew, and women leaders should have known, that her appointment was made as a sop for the woman's vote and to sidetrack a more active male opponent in the Governor's projected campaign for the long term, Such a shabby political trick should surely have been denounced by truly wise and determined women.

to get their respective programs through Congress? Their action is fully as autocratic as that of men legislators toward women, children, labor, negroes, the reason was, "The national suffrage

amendment is not yet passed." Since without sex solidarity in action, ex-1920, if a daring delegate should raise the question in convention, the reply is, "We are not organized to get women into Congress, but to get our laws!" We look across the ocean and see British women still working for full suffrage and for equality laws, but at the same time putting women into power. under the handicap of limited suffrage, that they as legislators, not merely as lobbyists of men's Legislatures, may advance the cause. The obvious reply to the remorseless logic of the American official mind is: "Then the British are stateswomen, and you are not; either that, or they place the equality of woman first, and you do not." I am not here challenging the integrity of American leaders, I am merely presenting the horns of the obvious dilemma. In comparison with the pliability, the adaptability to new conditions that the British are demonstrating, not only in their labor but in their woman's movement, American political technique is as rigid and unprogressive as the United States Constitution and the Supreme Court itself.

The truth seems to be that we cannot expect greater political gifts in American women than in American men; we cannot expect a finer type of leadership than our peculiar culture is able to develop. Yet obviously we cannot achieve the essence of sex equality, Great Britain seems lacking in our which is a thing of the mind and heart, American civilization.

pressed through the channels of women's organizations. Instead of this we have only two lobbying organizations with rival policies, practically two women's parties, each, like men's parties and like the American Federation of Labor, apparently more interested in keeping certain leaders in power in imposing headquarters than in maintaining a united front for the good of all; each, like men's parties and the American Federation of Labor, controlled by its wealthiest members; each, like men's parties and the American Federation of Labor, neglectful of the interests of the colored race, of the weak, the submerged and the disinherited. hope for the advancement of women, for the betterment of the race, from organizations which are so deliberately or unconsciously "bourgeois"?

Unless our two women's parties, divinely moved by a common impulse to put the cause first, combine on an election policy to put qualified women into power, leaving "our laws" to take care of themselves, there remains only the somewhat forlorn hope of a "third party." If sex equality be really our goal, it is imperative that this step toward sex solidarity be taken by conscious effort, since the more or less subconscious trend toward it which has just elected eight women to Parliament in



# The Passing of the Socialist Party

By DAVID KARSNER

Formerly Managing Editor of The New York Call

FTER twenty-three years of indifferent gains and losses, the Socialist Party goes into eclipse with the Presidential campaign of 1924. There is scarcely enough of it left to salvage and weld with another group. It has neither good-will nor bad to bequeath to another organization. It is a political ghost stalking in the graveyard of current events seeking respectable burial. The majority of its former voting membership is back in the Democratic and Republican Parties from which it came. Its foreign membership seceded five years ago, affiliating with Communist groups, whose political behavior occasionally excites the Department of Justice and the State Department to elaborate fury. In truth, there is no radical movement in America worthy of first-class notice, and none knows this better than the radical body itself. So recently as March 10, 1924, the National Office of the Socialist Party in Chicago announced:

If the Conference for Progressive Political Action, which opens in Cleveland on July 4, takes action, on nominations for President and Vice President of the United States and on other questions, satisfactory to the National Socialist Party, the latter organization will cooperate. If the convention should fail to take proper action, the Socialist Party will be called upon to lead the fight in the coming Presidential campaign as the only party of labor and progress under the most favorable conditions that have ever confronted us.

Observers of the party's débâcle interpret the above as political persiflage, the only object of which is to serve notice on the members that the party has lost its identity as a unit in American politics and is virtually moribund.

It becomes increasingly clear, as the Socialist Party steps into the shadows, that it was a one-man organization; that

it revolved about the personality of a single individual whose sincerity and devoutness were sufficient to inspire some three or four million people to take up the crusade, now and then, during the approximate quarter of a century of the party's existence. All these people did not consistently vote the party's ticket, but they gave it inspiration and support at various times.

The Socialist Party was really born in one prison and died in another. Eugene V. Debs became attracted to socialist doctrine in 1894, while serving a six months' sentence for contempt of a Federal court in the legal proceedings growing out of the Pullman strike of 1893, which he led as President of the American Railway Union. The seed of the now dying party took root in the county jail at Woodstock, Ill. The man who brought socialist doctrine to the attention of Debs in jail was Representative Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, then leader of a progressive group of "Social-Democrats" (a title derived from the Social-Democratic Party of Germany).

Mr. Berger presented Debs with a copy of Karl Marx's "Das Kapital," and Debs has acknowledged that, when he emerged from the county jail, he was a full-fledged Socialist. Although he supported and stumped for William J. Bryan in 1896, Debs was attracted to the Commoner's banner because of the industrial and economic, rather than the political, issues stressed at that time. In 1897 Debs, in a distributed circular, summoned the membership of the American Railway Union to behold the "Present Conditions and Future Duties." \* \* \* "The issue is socialism versus capitalism," the circular read, "I am ences by his marvelous exhibition of for socialism because I am for human-mental and moral integrity. But the ity. We have been cursed with the cause he championed was leagues behind reign of gold long enough. Money con- him, or ahead of him, as you will. stitutes no proper basis of civilization. The time has come to regenerate society -we are on the eve of a universal change. \* \* \*,

# BIRTH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Six months later the American Railway Union held its convention in Chicago. Debs and the majority of the delegates favored political action. On June 21, 1897, the Social-Democratic Party was formed, and that was the actual beginning of the Socialist movement in the United States, with Debs as its spiritual leader and destined to run five times as a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

The factors which contributed to the débâcle of the Socialist Party were the World War, the Russian Bolshevist revolution and the imprisonment of Debs in Atlanta Penitentiary for nearly three years as a consequence of his disapproval of American participation in the war. Residing deep in these factors, however, was utter confusion of Socialists in their attitude toward American issues and psychology. They possessed the crusader's impatience of the technologist. Blinded by the illusory panorama of the Pleasant Pastures to which they were headed, they tried to ignore and evade the stubbles of material fact and psychological inference that tripped and ensnared them.

The war stripped the party of many of its foremost intellectual leaders and propagandists. The Bolshevist revolution led the bulk of the party's foreign membership into extreme attitudes, and the imprisonment of Debs deprived what remained, of active leadership. Party leaders depended upon Debs to revive the corpse and impart a rosy tint to its dead flesh when he emerged from Atlanta prison. The poetic humanist held immense meetings in the year following his liberation, but the crowds came to see Debs, not to hear him. He spoke in familiar tone, upon themes that are often but faintly grasped in lofty rhetoric, and charmed his audi- or economic inanity when sufficient

Though a magic personality, Debs is not a political magician and the party he spoke for was dead.

The Socialists seek to achieve their program for social and economic change through political action, and this medium is controlled by social and economic forces that do not desire a departure from the present social order. The Socialist Party, therefore, is hamstrung in its ultimate aims, and its immediate demands may be realized more quickly by mass pressure upon either the Democratic or Republican Party. Should the issue arise in any city for municipal ownership of the street railway system, for example, the voters could settle that question swiftly, without reference to extraneous social and economic involvements such as are entailed in the Socialist program, by accepting or rejecting the candidates soliciting the suffrage of the people upon that issue. If the people wanted to own and operate their own street cars and they elected, say, a Republican Mayor and Council on that issue, they would have more assurance that the Republicans could accomplish what they were elected to do, because they would probably not be affronted by a hostile State Legislature and courts through which the transfer of a public utility must inevitably pass. If a Socialist were elected on that issue, his efforts to redeem his pledge would be thwarted by either of the senior parties in control of the State Legislature, and certainly denied in the courts, should the issue proceed so far, not only because of popular prejudice against socialism but because the consummation might easily tempt other municipalities to do likewise in the matter of their street cars.

In cities where Socialists have been elected to office, local issues have been stressed, and the major program has remained an interesting thesis for students of political economy and the Department of Justice. Our Government can be frightened into any political expediency

pressure is brought to bear upon the major political parties. Prohibition is a striking example of this. Woman suffrage was first advocated and avowed as a political issue by the Socialist Party, but the Nineteenth Amendment was a victory for a class of people who were not Socialists and who would disclaim any affinity with socialism.

# Socialists Negligible in Reforms

The Adamson law, passed by Congress in 1916, granting railroad men the basic eight-hour day and adjusting their pay on that schedule, followed dire threats by the Big Four railroad brotherhoods that they would strike unless their demands were met within a stated time. Patriotism was all very well, they said in effect, but this was a question of hours and wages. Not only did Congress pass that law with celerity upon the recommendation of President Wilson, but the Supreme Court validated it in great haste. The Socialists were the pioneers in agitating for the eight-hour day, but they had nothing whatever to do with the enactment of the Adamson law, and the railroad brotherhoods who demanded it view a chasm between them and the Socialists as deep as that which divides William Jennings Bryan and the Darwinian theory.

Socialists holding office in the United States have been able to do nothing more than use the existing political instruments for social and industrial economy, thus presenting themselves in the rôle of conservators of the existing social order. They are, in fact, the bulwark between capitalism and social revolution. With reason they should be endowed by our plutocracy, and they would be if our plutocracy were not blind to everything save its own profits. Where ruling parties have exhibited hostility to them, in Albany, for example, where five Socialist legislators were expelled, the issue has invariably involved such questions as patriotism. Those five Socialist legislators, by their own testimony, denied that they believed in social revolution and asserted their devo-

dulging in mere lip service and their constituencies knew it.

It may be true that, were the Socialists able to capture the courts, they could nullify legislation passed by Democratic and Republican Assemblies, but this would soon draw the lines sharply between social theories and political facts. One can imagine the result.

Just what is Socialist theory? Century Dictionary defines socialism as

follows:

Socialism is any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it cooperative action; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor and would make land and capital as the instruments and means of production and joint possession of the members of the community.

Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia gives this definition:

Socialism is a moral reform; it is the vices of mankind and the miseries resulting from these vices, to which socialism wishes to put an end, and it seeks its means, not in a new religious issue, but in a new social organization.

#### DIVIDED BY THE WAR

The first definition suggests the economic import of socialism, while the second hints of its ethical significance. The people who are committed to this program, however, are no different in any essential particular from any other group. The World War proved that Socialists are victims of the same emotions and prejudices that ensnare us all. Historically committed against war and preparation for it, Socialists divided on those issues in every country in the world where they maintained any semblance of organization; in countries where they held official positions they invariably stood with their respective Governments. In England and France, for example, Socialists were used as war administrators. In the American Congress Meyer London of New York, the sole member, voted against American participation in the war, but he voted for several military measures for its prosecution, excepting the Espionage law. The day before America declared war against Germany the Socialists held tion to this glorious land. The State a convention in St. Louis and adopted a Legislature thought that they were in- resolution proclaiming not only their

disapproval of all war but their opposition to this one in particular, and the resolution said something about "mass demonstrations" to put it down.

Men like William English Walling, John Spargo, Charles Edward Russell and J. G. Phelps Stokes left the party and worked in harmony with the popular bellicose spirit and impulse. Eugene V. Debs and several lesser known persons carried their pacifism to prison. Algernon Lee, educational director of the Rand School of Social Science, New York, was a member of the Board of Aldermen during the war, and although he approved the St. Louis resolution he voted with the Democrats and Republicans for an appropriation for the artistic monstrosity called the "Victory Arch" that spanned Fifth Avenue at Madison Square. Despite previous declarations of conscientious objections to war, thousands of Socialists donned the khaki. Morris Hillquit, Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York in 1917, polled approximately 145,000 votes, but it was admitted even by Socialists that this total was inflated by pro-German and pacifist ballots. The New York Call, Socialist daily, increased its circulation to nearly 50,000 in the same period, a rise of more than 300 per cent. over normal, and which is traceable to the same cause. The Call in October, 1923, was killed in the guerrilla warfare between Socialists and Communists, and its successor, The Leader, a "pale pink" harmonizer of both, succumbed after five weeks' adventuring in popular journalism.

In 1919 there were nearly 120,000 dues-paying members of the Socialist Party. In May, 1923, the Socialist Convention in New York was told that the membership had dropped to 12,474. Eighty delegates attended that convention, while 281 delegates gathered at the Indianapolis convention in 1912. In the latter year Debs, as candidate for President, polled 897,011 votes, doubling his total of 1908. In 1916, with the war in Europe and with American political and industrial issues brought sharply to the front, Allan Benson was able to muster only 585,113 organized the Communist Party, ac-

suffrage, Debs, then a war prisoner at Atlanta, polled 919,799 votes, splitting the radical protest with Parley P. Christensen, Farmer-Labor Party candidate. who polled 265,411 votes.

In 1912 there were seventy Socialist papers published in English in the United States, and thirty-one in foreign languages. In 1923 there were not more than twenty Socialist weeklies published in English, and a dozen in foreign languages. This excludes the trade union and Communist weeklies, which Socialists have always ignored except to attack and deride. In 1923 the Socialists were obliged to sell their building in Chicago, where they maintained national headquarters, and to move to a loft of modest capacity. In 1912, one hundred persons were on the payroll of the national office. In 1923 this number had been reduced to five.

In 1923, Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward (a mild exponent of socialism), admitted that the Socialist Party in the United States was a failure. Cahan merely expressed a truism when he said that the psychology of the American people is different from that of Europeans, who embrace socialistic ideas in more or less concrete form. The success of the British Labor Party is but one example that the workers abroad are coming of age. Still, France has had three Socialists as Premiers: Clemenceau, Viviani and Briand. Every one of these is a turncoat, and the last has even been a strikebreaker. Ramsay MacDonald, regarded by Lenin as very mild, may function under happier auspices as Prime Minister of England. MacDonald is a determined re-

former, not a revolutionist.

In the United States, the Socialists in repeated their performance of 1919 1912 by expelling from the party its Left Wing. In 1912 it was the I. W. W., in 1919 the Communists. The latter were violently in favor of Soviet Russia, to which the Socialists were distinctly cool. The Left Wing, therefore, mostly foreign born, led by a number of American radicals, chief among whom were John Reed and Robert Minor, promptly votes. Four years later, with universal cepting the Russian formula. On the eve

of the Socialist national campaign in 1920, Debs from his prison cell urged Communists and Socialists to accommodate their differences. His plea was unheeded by the Socialists and received with jeers by the Communists.

The Communists, being the younger party, had less to lose. They centred their attack not upon capitalism, but The Socialists, comupon Socialists. promised in the sniping, strove to defend their fast depleted membership; press and property replied in kind. Many Socialists excelled William J. Burns in scenting Communist "plots." Sparks from some of these fires doubtless attracted the attention of police agencies. The result was wholesale raids upon Communists and the imprisonment of a number of them. The history of the I. W. W. and its trials and tribulations was thus mirrored in the evil day that befell the Communists.

# DREAM OF A VAIN UTOPIA

The Socialist program is preposterous when read from the standpoint of its ultimate objectives. It promises what it cannot deliver, human nature being what it is. It is neither good nor wise to promise man more than may be given unto him. Kings have lost their heads by that folly, and the cemeteries of civilization are strewn with the ashes of empires that promised much and yielded little. The Church has been wise in telling people that their reward awaited them in heaven. Socialists and other radical groups, however, reject the idea of deferring the journey of the Upward Way until death cures them of want. They say that the golden dawn is possible here and now, and they assert it so persistently that millions, especially the suffering and struggling poor, have enlisted in the armies of Human Betterment and trodden the darksome paths toward Utopia.

Many of us, at one time and another, have joined this or that group with the hope of improving ourselves in some manner. How many, however, realize, as they take the Upward Way, that they are only setting forth on the same track that has attracted others at different times through all the ages, and that the

sunlit corridors, or the darksome passages that bid us on, are adorned with the achievements or scarred with the bloody footprints of those who have trekked that way before and are no more?

# THE DAWN OF DISILLUSION

Those who give themselves wholly in spirit to these movements, who make no paltry reservation for themselves, are destined to find themselves sooner or later stranded in that heavily populated street of Disillusion. They find, as they march in the armies of redemption, that their fellows are not divine, because they are human; that the Cause and the Crusader may indeed have very little in common; that prejudice, selfishness, malevolent purpose, envy and false witness are not infrequently the drum corps to whose martial air the sweetly illusioned ones are obliged to keep step. They may not know this until they commence to question the circuitous route that lies ahead and the ultimate distance between where they are bivouacked and the Pleasant Pastures.

Recently there has been an effort of the Socialist Party to coalesce with milder organizations on the political field. This is directly contrary to Socialist principle. In the early years of the party one of its chief textbooks was entitled, "No Compromise, No Political Trading," by Wilhelm Liebknecht, contemporary of Karl Marx, and father of Karl Liebknecht, whose murder in Berlin in 1919 was attributed to the victorious Social-Democrats, who had too much property and political prestige to risk social revolution after the Russian pattern. The Socialists here. saddened and sobered by the knowledge of declining membership, have accommodated their cardinal tenets to fusion. The Socialist Party has been reduced to a debating club, whose remaining members are not particularly conscientious in attendance. No longer a political factor, it is destined to become a memory, as have similar ventures before it.

are only setting forth on the same track that has attracted others at different times through all the ages, and that the

The Moscow experiment embaring. The New York Call on May 23, rassed the Socialists in every country. They were unprepared, numerically and psychologically, to offer the Bolsheviki the support required to counter the hostility of the combined powers of the world. Socialists outside of Russia apprehended that if they negotiated with the Soviet they ran the risk of being legislated out of existence or utterly crushed through other and more unpleasant means in their own countries, so they faced the choice of embracing Russia and being doomed to extinction at home, or thumbing their nose at Lenin and being suspected of hypocrisy by their own police and statesmen.

Choosing the latter course, they thought of their years of struggle upgrade, which they had never completed, and the little property and prestige which they had been able to accumulate. Socialists rebuffed the Third International as a valid expression of socialistic enterprise. Observing a social revolution in travail, the Socialists said, "No, that isn't the revolution, Comrades! Onward, Christian soldiers, to the ballot box!" The Socialists here have pleaded for recognition of Russia by our State Department, but so have liberal Democrats and Republicans, and Senator Borah and Senator La Follette have done more telling propaganda work on behalf of Russia than all the Socialists and Communists combined in the United States.

While the Socialists were repudiating Lenin and denouncing his revolution as violating the ethics of social change, the Moscow Government was blundering seriously by presuming to dictate to the Socialists of other countries regarding their manners and procedure.

Russia had no friends in the United States other than the Communists, and this friendship, so far as Russia was concerned, was an elaborate liability. Their political manners are atrocious; their meetings, when they can be held without police interference, are reminiscent of the good old days when an upstanding and inquiring citizen who spoke out of turn was belabored with a club on the next Wednesday night as he turned homeward from prayer meet-

1923, said: "The various Communist movements are the spiritual heir to the anarchists of the '70s and '80s."

Socialists have always exhibited the same degree of intolerance toward assertive personalities in their own movements as have other cliques and clans founded upon dogma and furthered by bigotry. Doubters and heretics have been hunted down and expelled in Socialist Party locals and branches with quite as much energy as that shown by the Government officials in pursuing the Socialists. The latter have merely observed the drive and drift of history and have emulated it. Socialists believe in free speech—for themselves: they believe in a free press-for what they consider is "fit to print"; they assert the principle of unmolested assemblage-for all who accept their teachings. One might be led to suppose that the Declaration of Independence was their own special creation, so ardently do they quote it when their gatherings are threatened with dispersal by the police.

Socialists believe in government by majority. They embrace democracy, and woo the will of the people in a lover's lane of political theorizing. Actually, your Socialist is a conformist. He may not conform to present standards, but he would conform to those made for him by his political priests. He is not intellectually free, but is a standardist. He carries in his pocket a chart and a reprint for personal conduct and association. Of recent years I have wondered what would happen to a Savonarola, a Giordano Bruno, a Galileo, an Anatole France, should he stumble into the ranks of the Socialists.

There are social, political and economic changes which are highly desirable and poignantly necessary. Socialists seem to know better than some other people what some of these changes portend. It seems to me, however, after some ten years of rather intimate journalistic association with their leaders and laymen, that they are wholly without equipment, mentally, ethically or spiritually, to do more than debate these social problems.

# The Colonizing of Half a Million Greek Refugees

By WILLIAM JORDAN RAPP Former Relief Worker in the Near East

NE of the greatest migrations in 1923, the commercial and industrial story of the arrival of the refugees in Greece, of the work of relief in which America played an important part, of the gradual assimilation of great numa thrilling, courageous and hopeful set up shops of various sorts. chapter in the record of our times.

When the refugees arrived in Greece, the great majority absolutely destitute, Smallpox and typhus took many vic-permanent solution. tims, but the energetic measures of the

history has been that of more classes among the refugees began to than a million Greeks from Asia make a place for themselves in the Minor to Greece since the disastrous economic life of the nation. They built defeat of the Greek army at the hands little towns of wooden shacks and mud of the Turks in the Fall of 1922. The brick houses in the suburbs of the larger cities, found work as street merchants, builders, cobblers, tinsmiths, clerks, laborers, weavers of rugs and cloth, servants, washerwomen and in a bers into the industrial and commercial great variety of other occupations. life of the nation, and of the colonizal Many, with the aid of money from tion of half a million on the land, forms friends or philanthropic organizations, earned little, but lived sparsely; and one could see as the weeks went by that they were gradually winning back moral they were shipped to all parts of the strength, confidence, even the happiness country. No village was too small or which they had believed six months betoo remote not to have its fair quota fore they had forever left behind in of refugees, billeted upon it. Schools, their old homes in Asia Minor. Quite churches, theatres, warehouses, markets different was the situation of the refand all vacant houses, rooms and apart- ugees who were agriculturists, and who ments were requisitioned and the ref- numbered about 120,000 families, or ugees installed in them. Here they half a million individuals. As the days passed the Winter of 1922-23. The went by they became more and more Greek Government, aided by the Amer- miserable. To establish themselves they ican Red Cross and other foreign phil-needed land, tools, animals and seed. anthropic societies, saw that they were With great courage the Greek Governclothed, fed and given medical atten- ment undertook to solve this problem tion. Epidemics broke out among them. and today it is well on the way toward a

Since 1913 a Department of Colon-Government and the American Red ization has been attached to the Greek Cross localized the ravages of these dis- | Ministry of Agriculture. This depart-The mortality rate among the ment had supervised the installation of refugees for the first year was about the agriculturists listed among the reftwice that of the native population, or ugees of the Balkan wars of 1913, the about 35 per thousand. This would refugees of the Turkish deportations make the total deaths among the ref- which occurred in the Spring of 1914 ugees for the year September, 1922, to and which the Turks employed as an September, 1923, about 40,000 to 45,- instrument to bring pressure on Greece in the dispute regarding the islands of With the coming of the Spring of Mitylene and Chios which Greece had

captured during the first Balkan war, | long-term bonds. and the refugees of the Bolshevist revolution of 1917. The latter class were largely from the Caucasus. The work of the Department of Colonization in handling these three refugee invasions had been very successful and had given it a most valuable experience. it now fell the great task of colonizing the half-million fugitive agriculturists from Asia Minor.

# COLONIZATION IN MACEDONIA

Old Greece, which is predominantly a mountainous country and which already had a larger rural population than it could support, offered no possibilities for colonization. It was. therefore, to Macedonia with its broad valleys that the Government turned its attention. Here the land was held in large plantations. Usually but a small part of each plantation was cultivated and this on shares by native Christian or Moslem peasants; the remainder was rented out to shepherds as grazing land. To get control of this land, the Government promulgated a royal decree limiting the maximum holding to 200 acres and requiring that it be cultivated under the direct supervision of the owner. The Government acquired all land the principal port of Macedonia, and over this maximum, paying for it with from here by rail, cart and auto truck

This policy was greatly facilitated by the Intermigra-tion Pact signed with Turkey at Lausanne in January, 1923. Under this pact all Moslems in Greece other than those in Western Thrace (between 350,-000 and 400,000) are compelled to migrate to Turkey and are to be reimbursed for the immovable property they leave behind them with the property the Greek refugees left in Asia Minor. Thus the Greek Government acquired the great plantations of the Turkish Beys as well as the smaller holdings of the Turkish peasant-owners, the latter especially numerous in the tobacco-raising country of Eastern Macedonia, without any financial outlay.

The Department of Colonization was prepared to handle refugees in great numbers by the early Spring of 1923, but owing to the many crises that occurred at the Lausanne Peace Conference, it was difficult to get the refugees to colonize, since every sign of a reopening of hostilities raised their hopes of returning to their native land. Immediately after the signing of peace in July, 1923, however, the refugee agriculturists throughout Greece shipped by boat and rail to Kavalla,



Agricultural refugees arriving at the camp in Saloniki from all parts of Greece



Village in course of construction by refugees in Macedonia

into the villages of the interior. The General of Colonization under whose general policy was to ship all those from the same village in Asia Minor to a single village in Macedonia.

Arriving in the villages the refugees were temporarily billeted in the houses of the natives. In the case of Moslem villages, one-half of the houses were left to the Moslems and the rest taken by the refugees. Once in the villages the refugees came under the supervision of the Department of Colonization, which is organized as follows: For the

orders there are three Regional Directors, for Western, Central and Eastern Macedonia respectively. Under these regional directors there are fifteen Bureaus of Colonization headed by capable young men who have received expert training in the agricultural colleges of Italy, France and Germany and who have high ideals of public service. Assigned to each of these bureaus are about twenty-five field agents, who whole of Macedonia there is a Director supervise the work in the villages, each



Native Christian peasants' home in Macedonia

agent having under his charge not more | left. Refugees housed in native Christhan 250 families.

of the State Land Bank. In this the villages are springing up, the refugees field agent lists and estimates in mone- living in tents during the period of contary value all the material which the struction. The new houses, typical of family is given. The refugees receipt the peasant houses throughout the Balfor this material in the presence of wit- kans and Anatolia, are made of mud nesses who countersign the receipt, bricks, with dirt floors and red tile which is then sent to the Land Bank. roofs and rarely contain more than two Everything has to be paid for within rooms. The Government allows each a period of twelve years. There are family that builds a house the sum of no interest charges. Up to the present 1,500 drachmas (\$30 at present ex-

tian villages are building new houses Every refugee family receives a book for themselves. A large number of new



Valley between the Drama in Macedonia and Kavalla, showing the kind of land the refugees from Asia Minor are colonizing

draught animal (horse, mule or ox), one building progresses, also one cubic plow, seed for one season's planting, meter of wood for doors, windows and food for the animal and food, at the frame, and 2,000 tiles for the roof. rate of 28 pounds of grain per person monthly, to tide the family over until the first harvest. The last item is not charged against them. Carts, cows, goats, sheep, donkeys and so forth have also been distributed, the horses and mules coming largely from the army, the other animals being requisitioned from the Turks who are to leave.

Where the refugees have been installed in Turkish villages, no new

every family has received at least one (change), paid in instalments as the

#### PROBLEM OF DISTRIBUTING LAND

The distribution of the land has been a very difficult problem. Although great stretches of uncultivated land are available, it is not possible for the refugees with their light animals to break sod which is often more than a generation old. Until tractor gangs are organized to open up this land, a difficult procedure in a country where houses have been built, for the present trained mechanicians are scarce, the houses will suffice when the Turks have only land that can be cultivated is that



A new farmhouse being built in Macedonia by refugees

which has already been broken. In and refugees to come to a temporary purely Turkish villages the problem, as understanding, while the Government in the case of housing, is simple. The pressed forward with the work of openrefugee families who have come in usu- ing new land. The amount of land ally equal in number the Turkish fam- given to each family at present varies' ilies that are leaving; therefore the from 5 to 60 stremmas (11/4 to 15 broken land is adequate. In native acres), depending upon whether or not Christian villages, however, the situa- it is irrigated and on the type of cropion is entirely different. The Christian truck, tobacco or cereals. This allotnatives remain and they desire to keep ment is not generally sufficient to supall the land they have been cultivating port a family even at the low standard for years even though they do not own of living of the Macedonian peasant, it but, as in most cases, have been work- but as soon as new land is opened up ing it on shares for the plantation own-the quota will be increased. It is the er. The usual solution for this vexing tobacco cultivators who prosper most problem has been to force the natives at present, for with from five to ten



A new village in Macedonia built by refugees

stremmas of good tobacco land they can | leaving. The Greeks wanted them all earn an excellent revenue. All distribution of land is purely temporary and the question of eventual title is complicated by many factors. The great need, however, is to get the people to raise a crop and everything is organized to this end.

The work of colonization has a great enemy in malaria, which undermines the vitality of virtually the whole population. This disease is endemic throughout Macedonia, and there are few peobeen occasions when whole crops have continued presence of the Turks has

to leave immediately after the Commission for the Exchange of Populations provided for by the Intermigration Pact held its first meeting last October, but the Turks would not agree to any program more rapid than the removal of 150,000 by May 1, 1924, and of the remainder by the end of the year. The Greeks accepted this program but, owing to continued obstruction by the Turks, the schedule is behind; on Jan. ple who are not infected. There have 5 only 38,000 had been moved. The



A group of refugees, all from the same village in Asia Minor, who are building a new village in Macedonia

been lost because all the workers of a resulted in unfortunate incidents bevillage were down with fever during tween them and the refugees. the harvesting season. The Department of Colonization through its field agents has distributed large quantities of quinine to the villagers and a rather irregular service of visiting doctors has been organized by the Department of Hygiene, but these efforts have been inadequate. It is estimated that thirty tons of quinine are necessary to keep the disease in check during 1924. The American Red Cross has sent seven tons, and it is hoped that the Greek Government will find means to provide the remainder.

# THE ACTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

A few statistics in regard to the colonization work are of interest. From August, 1922, to November, 1923. the sum of 189,000,000 drachmas was spent In addition, 12,742 draft in cash. animals from the army were distributed, of a value of 24,000,000 drachmas, as well as 36,000 other draft animals of a value of 36,000,000 drachmas, a total of about 250,000,000 drachmas (\$5,000,000), which is about one-fourth The greatest single obstacle to the of the total amount spent by Greece on work of colonization has been the slow- the refugees. The other three-fourths ness with which the Turks have been went largely for temporary relief. Up

to the beginning of 1924, 85,000 families have been established in rural communities throughout Macedonia and a few of the other provinces of Greece; have been completed and 12,000 others

begun. The Greek Government early realized that its resources were not adequate to carry through the whole refugee problem to a completely satisfactory conclusion, and appealed to the Council of the League of Nations for a loan. The Council appointed a committee of investigation and, upon receiving its report, recommended to the member nations a loan of £6,000,000 and appointed a commission to supervise the expenditure of this loan. Mr. Henry Morgenthau of New York City, ex-Ambassador of the United States to Turkey, is President of this commission. royal decree was promulgated on Dec. 17, 1923, giving the commission the necessary powers to undertake its task. During the first week of January, 1924, the Department of Colonization was removed from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture and put under that of the commission, which is also responsible for the installation of the is generally believed that the Govern-urban refugees. Mr. Morgenthau es- ment will adopt this solution. timates that £10,000,000 will be necessary for the proper completion of the commission's work. It is hoped that the Greek people will take up a fair share of this sum. The Bank of England has already advanced £1,000,000. the commission's disposal the revenue, estimated at £80,000, from a special tax on the tobacco of Thrace. The commission has allocated these sums as follows: £725,000 for the installation of rural refugees and £215,000 for the installation of urban refugees. The remainder, after deduction of the compenses, £2,523; total £133,586.

According to the protocol under which the commission is constituted, the Greek Government must turn over to it, as security for the loan, title to 200,000 of these, 12,500 have been located in acres of land. This has not yet been 173 new villages. Some 13,000 houses done, as the proper interpretation of the Intermigration Pact is subject to dispute. Certain members of the Greek Government maintain that the pact imposes upon the Government the obligation to deliver, to each refugee, land equivalent in extent and nature to that which he possessed in Turkey. If this interpretation is sustained, the Government could not give the commission the land left by the Turks, allowing the commission to apportion such land among the refugees regardless of individual claims. It is, however, administratively impossible to solve the rural refugee problem and, at the same time, to satisfy these personal claims by giving the special claimants land. only solution is to turn over the land to the commission en bloc for distribution in the interests of all, allowing the commission to satisfy claims of invididuals by giving them long-term bonds for the value of the land they left in Asia Minor, as has been done for the expropriated plantation owners in Greece. It ment will adopt this solution.

The colonization of the agricultural refugees is still far from completed. With the materials and land at their disposal, however, they are beginning to cultivate the soil. They are an industrious and frugal people, who with The Greek Government has also put at few resources accomplish much. Those who harvested a crop in the Fall of 1923 are well on the way to independence; this is especially true of the tobacco cultivators of Eastern Mace-

donia.

There is every indication that the work of the commission will be pushed to a successful conclusion, and that mission's expenses, will be used to cover Greece will arise from the great disaster unforeseen expenditures or be added to of 1922 a stronger nation. Instead of the above credits. Up to Feb. 15, 1924, a hostile Turkish population in Macethe commission had made the following donia, it will have an industrious and disbursements: installation of rural ref- loyal Greek population and the great ugees, £70,339; installation of urban plains of Macedonia, under skillful culrefugees, £60,724; headquarters ex-tivation, will produce large quantities of grain to feed the country.

### Asiatic States in the Soviet Union

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

An American correspondent who has recently traveled extensively in Russia, coming into close contact with the Soviet authorities and all classes of the population

USSIA is now a great Asiatic new régime the native languages are power. One-third of the continent of Asia is included within the frontiers of the Federation of Soviet Republics. Even in the part of Russia that belongs geographically to Europe, the Asiatic influences are strong. The mountainous Caucasus region, which lies between the Black and the Caspian Seas, is largely inhabited by Oriental tribes. All over the steppes and river lands of Eastern and Southeastern Russia one finds, mingled with the Russian and Cossack settlers, varieties of Asiatic peoples—Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, Kalmucks and many others.

The results of the revolution have largely augmented Russia's importance as an Asiatic power. Much of the territory of the old Czarist empire has been lost. A whole series of former Russian provinces has been transformed into the independent States of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and Fin-But in Asia Russia's pre-war frontiers have been maintained. Russian influence in Mongolia and Bokhara is perhaps stronger today than it was

in the time of the Czar.

During a recent journey of 6,000 miles, extending from Moscow down the Volga, across the Caucasus, thence eastward beyond the Caspian Sea to Tashkent, the capital of Russian Turkestan. I had first-hand evidence of the far-reaching results of Russia's new policy toward the East. Although communism is repugnant to the Mohammedan religion, the Mohammedan peoples of the Eastern republics allied with the Soviet State have been won over to the new order by the Soviet policy, which provides the widest possible autonomy for the minor racial groups. This is in striking contrast to the Romanov policy which treated these territories merely as colonies. Under the

recognized and the various tribes are permitted and encouraged to use the vernacular in the courts, in the schools and in business. Land formerly held by court favorites and army officers has been redistributed, so that the inhabitants are no longer pushed out into the barren regions, far from the market routes. Moscow is now regarded as a friend by the Mohammedan masses and not as a powerful and exacting overlord. Mohammedans from Turkestan helped the Red army in the campaign which crushed the counter-revo-

lution led by Denikin.

The Russian Government has established in Moscow one of the most curious and interesting educational institutions in the world—the so-called University of the Toiling East. Here one finds students from almost every Asiatic race, pursuing the very diversified courses suited to their varied stages of cultural development. In the crowded living quarters of the students are highly educated Indian and Chinese revolutionists, with degrees from Oxford and Heidelberg, mingling with wild mountaineers from Daghestan and the northern ranges of the Caucasus, who are barely able to read and write, and some of whom had never seen a factory or a large town. Among the thousand students of the university are a number of Eastern women who have put aside their veils together with their traditional habits of thought. Some of them come from remote, backward villages where it still means death for a woman to expose her face on the street. The aim of the university is to give general and technical education. urally, the Marxian point of view is set before the primitive people who are enrolled at this unique institution.

What has been the actual, definite re-



Main street of Mtskhet, the ancient capital of Georgia, once an independent kingdom, now a republic forming part of the Russian Soviet Union

sult of the Soviet policy of trying to movement, showed me this monument who are either hostile or indifferent to the communistic idea? Perhaps a narrative of my journey by a circuitous route from Moscow to Tashkent will give at least a partial answer to this question. Europe begins to yield to Russia as soon as one travels east of Nizhny-Novgorod, at the junction of the rivers Oka and Volga. Chuvashes, Marinsks and other obscure Oriental tribes. remnants of the Tartar hordes that overran Russia in the Middle Ages, are to be found along the banks of the Volga and in the heavily wooded country to the north.

The first large outpost of Asia in Europe is Kazan, once the seat of an eastern khanate, now the capital of the autonomous Tartar republic. The city itself is largely inhabited by Russians, but the population of the surrounding country is made up, for the most part, of Tartars, Chuvashes and other Oriental peoples. Outside the city stands a curious monument built by Czar Alexander I. to commemorate the taking of the city by the Russians from the Tarflat. A young Tartar, who was an ac- headwaters, the road carries

win by kindness vast numbers of people and explained its significance. "Things have changed since the revolution," he said. "Formerly, we Tartars were an oppressed and despised people. we have our autonomous government. our own officials, our own schools, the right to use our own language in official business. This monument is a symbol of the old system of Russian oppression. Now we are planning to build a new memorial, either on top of this monument or alongside it, in order to express the new spirit of brotherhood among the peoples.

The Russian revolution has had less effect upon the Caucasian mountaineers than in the Tartar republic and other units in the Soviet Federation. In the various commissariats, however, one finds a much larger proportion of natives than was the case before the revo-President Mansourov of the Gorsk Republic is an Ossetin, a member

of one of the native tribes.

A military road runs directly southward from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, or Gruzia, as it is known to Russians. Rising steadily tars in 1552. Its base is shaped in the from Vladikavkaz, following the course fashion of a pyramid, but the top is of the foaming Terek almost to its tive worker in the local cooperative through some of the most striking mountain scenery in Europe. Great | tions are held not by Russians but by snow-covered peaks, among which the Georgians. They insist that the strings famous Kazbeg stands out by its suare pulled from Moscow and that the perior height, rise on every side. The Georgian Government does not possess road crosses several high mountain valleys, with their little aouls, or villages, and their flocks of grazing sheep. Here one may see Caucasian tribesmen fencing, their short swords flashing in the clear, dry atmosphere. It is said that far back in these mountains some of the natives still wear the chain mail armor of the time of the Crusades and go out to fight each other with medieval weapons.

Tiflis lies on the banks of the River Kura in a hollow surrounded by bleak, bare hills. Here one finds a rather complicated national problem. Some of the extreme Georgian nationalists are bitterly dissatisfied with the Soviet Government, which replaced the former independent Menshevik Government early in 1921. Soviet rule, in their opinion, is only a thin veil for Russian rule. Their conviction is not shaken by the ment in 1919 and 1920. Buoyed up by fact that the highest Government posi-

the same freedom of action that it enjoyed before the change." But there is another side of the case. Georgia includes a number of non-Georgian minority races, Armenians, Ossetins and These minorities now have more freedom than the fervently nationalist Georgian Menshevist Government was disposed to concede them. An Armenian, whom I met in Tiflis, remarked: "It is much better for our people since the Soviet rule came. We are no longer persecuted and expelled and subjected to discrimination as we were under the Mensheviks."

In Armenia itself, the little republic with its capital at Erivan into which many of the survivors of the Turkish massacres have fled, the Soviet régime meets with little opposition. Armenia had its nationalist or Dashnak Governpromises of help from Great Britain



Ewing Galloway



Mohammedan women of Baku, emancipated from their veils by the revolution, holding a meeting under the auspices of the Third (Communist) International

and France—promises that were never fulfilled—this Government involved the little country in unequal wars with Turkey and with the neighboring Caucasian republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia. As a result of the constant fighting and the isolation from the outside world, famine conditions prevailed in Armenia during 1919 and 1920. The country was subjected to the horrors of a Turkish invasion in the Winter of 1920-21, and was at its last gasp when Russian troops came to the Rescue, bringing with them Bolshevism, but also security from the Turkish invader. As a result of the peace which has prevailed during the last three years and of the extremely generous and efficient work of the Near East Relief. Armenia is now on the road to recovery. Even

the nationalist middle class elements, which have the least taste for Soviet rule, are inclined to resign themselves to it because they realize that only the strong Russian forces that are posted along the Armenian frontier are capable of preventing Turks and Kurds from renewing their work of massacre and devasta-

The third Caucasian republic, Azerbaijan, is inhabited chiefly by Mohammedans. who seem to be ethnically related to the population o f the Asiatic territory across

the Caspian. Here, at least in the large centres, such as Baku, the revolution seems to have had some effect in breaking down the rigid seclusion of women and in spreading general education among the illiterate Mohammedan people. Before the establishment of Soviet power there were constant bloody outbreaks of racial hostility between the Tartars and Armenians in Baku. Now this racial animosity seems to have died down. The policy of the Government in discourage ing any tendency toward nationalist persecution and in giving every race, regardless of its size, the right to use its own language in schools and in public business has undoubtedly contributed to this result.

The heart of the Russian East is to

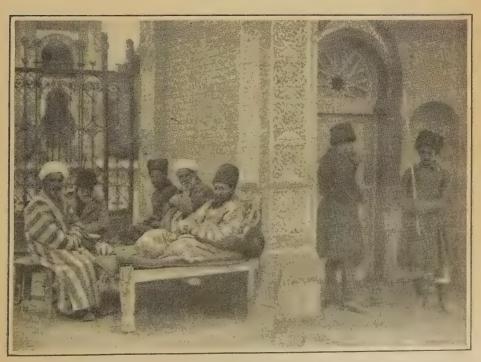
be found across the Caspian Sea, in the primitive Oriental countries of Turkestan, Bokhara and Khiva. Tashkent, the capital of the autonomous Republic of Turkestan, has a large Russian population, and there are more Russians than natives in the Government. However, the revolution has brought about a marked change in the status of the native population. I received proof of this when I visited the office of the Commissar for Education in Tashkent. A chart hanging on the wall had parallel rows of facts and figures under the two headings, "The Czarist Colony" and "The Soviet Republic." The Commissar, a highly educated and cultured Turcoman, explaining the chart, said:

Before the revolution, education in Turkestan was a monopoly of the Russian governing clique, Practically no provision was made for the needs of the native population. Now, we are not going ahead as fast as we should like in the educational field, because our country is very poor and our appropriations are small, but at least we have made a start in the right direction. We have set up elementary schools and teachers' training schools for all the peoples of Turkestan, for the Uzbegs, Tadjiks, Turcomans, Kirghiz and Jews, as well as for the Russians. We are even trying to reach the nomads by establishing schools in the oases where they spend the Winter

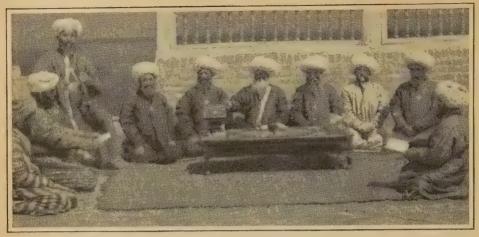
months. We have not yet the means to obtain anything like an adequate number either of schools or teachers. But we have broken with the old darkness; and the people of Turkestan in the future will not be the former illiterate slaves of Russian exploiters.

#### TARTARS' NEW FREEDOM

I received the same impression of awakening nationhood after long centuries of suppression as I talked with one of the Tartar officials in the local Government. Formerly, he said, Tartar was called "a dog's language." It had no place in schools or courts. If a Tartar peasant were called to court, he was liable to be sentenced by a Judge who could not understand what he said. Now all this has changed. In the purely Tartar villages the native language alone was used in schools and courts. In the towns where the population was mixed, the two languages were on an equal footing. The official emphasized the economic side of the former Russian rule. He pulled out a population map of the Tartar republic and showed how the Russians had acquired the most advantageous stretches of land along the rivers and the rail-



A native General of Bokhara watching a military review



A police court administering justice in the Transcaspian Province in the period before the Bolshevist revolution

road lines. crowded into the more remote sections of the country, where it was harder for them to market their products. It was difficult to rectify this injustice at one stroke: but a land commission had been appointed with a view to eliminating gradually, as far as possible, the unequal distribution of land between the two peoples.

Casual impressions, picked up in the streets of Kazan, tended to confirm the statements of these two Tartars. street names and the signs on public buildings are printed in two languages. A career in the army is no longer solely the privilege of Russian aristocrats; many young Tartars are to be found in the Kazan officers' training school. The Tartars have their own schools, their own hospitals, their own newspapers.

The Tartar republic was a heavy sufferer in the great Volga famine of 1921-22. About 100,000 persons died of hunger, and the villages were swept bare of working animals and live stock. The American Society of Friends, with permanent headquarters at Moscow, has done much relief work in the purchase and distribution to the peasants of farm horses. The material condition of the peasants has improved slowly and painfully since the famine disaster.

The Tartars had been their intricate and delicate embroidery work and from the graceful outline of their mosques and old towers, beautiful in their simplicity. Now the Tartars have the opportunity to work out their own national individuality without being crushed by an unsympathetic foreign rule.

> Traveling southward by boat on the Volga, one finds a country inhabited almost entirely by Russian peasants. After leaving the Volga at Tsaritsin, where the river turns southeast to empty into the Caspian Sea, there is to be crossed a long stretch of thinly populated steppe country on the railroad which strikes into the rich fertile lands of the Don and Kuban Cossacks. Going further south into the northern foothills of the Caucasus, one again encounters dark Oriental faces and hears the harsh, guttural sounds of Eastern dialects. quite different from the more mellow and sonorous Russian.

Vladikavkaz, a town situated on the banks of the rapidly flowing mountain river Terek, formerly the military headquarters for the Russian Army in this region, is now the capital of the autonomous Gorsk Republic. The Gortzi, as the members of the neighboring wild mountain tribes are called, present a picturesque appearance as they stalk The through the streets of Vladikavkaz on Volga Tartars are naturally a gifted market days and holidays. The typical and artistic people, as one can see from | Caucasian mountaineer resembles a

walking arsenal. He carries a long! knife, or short sword, slung across his body. A shorter knife is carried at the hip. His brightly embroidered jacket has a dozen small open pockets, from which one can see cartridge tips protruding. A revolver is usually displayed ostentatiously, and an old musket sometimes completes the equipment. "A Gorsk would no more appear in the street without his arms than a European without his tie," said the President of the republic in describing his countrymen's customs. The Gortzi have the virtues and the faults of primitive mountaineers. Their arms are not only for show; the natives are extremely revengeful and often carry on fierce Their family devotion is proverbial. They eke out a very poor living from their barren, stony mountains, but a father makes every effort to give his son a good education. This accounts for the fact that the few Gortzi, who are not entirely illiterate, are usually quite well educated.

#### Women as Chattels.

Caucasus Mountains. In the Gorsk village the supremacy of the male is taken for granted. It is an immemorial custom that a woman must always rise in the presence of a man. The women at meals are always served last. Among the Gortzi, as among most of the Russian Eastern peoples, wives are objects of barter. They are priced at so much gold or so many head of cattle. Sometimes a Gorsk carries off a wife without paying the price which her father demands. If this is done with the woman's consent, the matter usually is settled later by peaceful negotiation; but cases of forcible abduction often lead to blood feuds.

All the enthusiastic things that are said in Moscow about the Russian East are not true. The dictatorship of the Communist Party, which holds good for all parts of the Soviet Federation, makes for close centralization of political and economic power, and the right of secession, which is constitutionally granted to the individual States of the Federation, would scarcely be respected Ideas of sex equality have scarcely in practice. In pressing for radical, begun to penetrate the recesses of the innovations, which wounded the reli-



Mounted constabulary in the Transcaspian Province of Russia



A political meeting of Russian Moslems at Tashkent, the capital of Turkestan, one of the autonomous republics of the Soviet Union

gious sensibilities of the Central Asiatic | that the old feuds between the primi-Mohammedans, many errors of judgment were made, which more experienced colonial administrators would have avoided.

In the New Russian East, however, there is undeniable evidence of a spirit of self-assertion on the part of longoppressed peoples. guages in schools and courts and news-Government's policy of racial tolerance administrators.

tive peoples who inhabit the Caucasus and Russian Central Asia have now died out. If the Soviet Government continues to pursue its present policy, if more and more Tartars and Turcomans and Caucasian mountaineers are trained to fill the highest positions in the mil-The presence of itary and civil administration of their natives in the highest governing posi- native countries, then the Russian East tions is one sign of this spirit. The use will become an interesting, though perof the long-discouraged native lan- haps not an altogether pleasant, object of study for European powers which papers is another. It is no small proof prefer to treat their Asiatic dominions of the practical wisdom of the Soviet as colonies to be ruled by foreign



# In Vindication of Venezuela

By Pedro M. Arcaya Venezuelan Minister to the United States

THE historic doctrine of Monroe amount of the claims presented on two occasions. The first was in 19.3 cents par value], and though the 1895, when the then President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, sent to Congress his celebrated message favoring our rights in the question of Venezuela's boundary with British Guiana. A solution was imposed and was followed by arbitration. The decision was favorable to us in the most important respects, because it left us the exclusive dominion of the mouths of the Orinoco River.

The second occasion was at the end of 1902, when the Venezuelan ports were blockaded by German, English and Italian men-of-war. President Roosevelt warned the German Ambassador that the Government over which he presided would never consent to the occupation of any part of Venezuelan territory, and that if an arbitration agreement were not reached with Venezuela the American squadron would be sent at once to the scene of action. This was virtually a threat of war. Germany and the other two powers allied with her on this occasion yielded. The claims were submitted for study to mixed commissions, which reduced them very considerably. For these interventions the Venezuelan people owe a debt of gratitude to the United States. Services such as these will never be forgotten in Venezuela.

When it was agreed that the claims of the blockading powers should be examined by international arbitration Venezuela owing to certain actions of commissions, it was natural that the the latter in regard to American comother nations holding claims against us should seek to validate them. A number of creditor nations-Germany, nationals but without having recourse England and Italy, as well as France, to any violent measures or interfering Belgium, Spain, the United States, Hol- in any way with the internal affairs of land, Sweden, Norway and Mexico- Venezuela. The American claims were presented themselves as claimants. The adjusted in a manner satisfactory to both

has been applied by the American reached an approximate total of 400,-Government in Venezuela's favor 000,000 bolivars [a bolivar is worth Mixed Commissions reduced these later to somewhat less than 40,000,000, so great a reduction could not at that time be foreseen. Furthermore, we had hanging over us the foreign debt, properly so called, derived from loans and other credit operations, which totaled 133,-000,000 bolívars. Many other millions more were owed as a result of diplomatic settlements of claims prior to those which led to the blockade, and, besides, the republic was burdened with a great internal debt of more than 60,000,000 bolivars.

> It seemed impossible for Venezuela to pay all these debts. The German Government took this view, and its Ambassador approached President Roosevelt in March, 1903, as is described in the latter's letter to his Secretary, Mr. Hay, suggesting that an international syndicate headed by the United States should take over the public revenues (Hacienda Publica) of Venezuela with the object of administering them and paying off the debts of the republic. Roosevelt rejected these proposals pointblank. "The American people," he replied to the German Ambassador, 'would deeply disapprove the transformation of Venezuela into another Egypt."

> During the Administration of President Roosevelt serious difficulties arose between him and President Castro of panies and private citizens. President Roosevelt supported the claims of his

General Gomez in Venezuela.

During the Taft Administration the relations between the two countries continued to be most cordial. Secretary of State Knox visited Venezuela at that time and received a most favorable impression of the country as a whole, its Government and the reception accorded him.

VENEZUELA AND THE EUROPEAN WAR

Venezuela remained neutral during the European conflict. This neutrality was due to various considerations. The German Government, after the British Government, was our heaviest creditor, and Venezuelan commerce was heavily indebted to that of Germany. A declaration of war by Venezuela would have meant the cancellation of all these debts. We could not expose ourselves to the charge of seeking to pay our debts in this way. Considerations of internal politics furthermore counseled the Venezuelan Government to preserve neutrality. A campaign of political agitation had been carried on against the Government by its enemies in 1913. Venezuela had been charged with being excessively pro-French because it had agreed to settle certain French claims. This agitation would have been revived and would have been more bitter if we had declared war on Germany; the Venezuelan people, furthermore, would have had reasonable ground for fear that the Government was intending to recruit them for overseas service on the battlefields of the Old World.

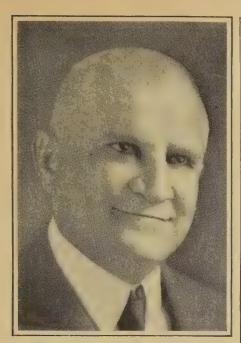
It is painful to relate that some Venezuelans intrigued with foreigners against the Government of their own country because of the neutrality which Venezuela maintained with such punctilious dignity. President Wilson, however, who believed in the high ideals which he proclaimed, respected the independence of other nations and the right of their Governments to pursue the international policy which they considered best suited to the interests of their peoples, provided that this policy

parties from 1909 on, under the rule of intrigues referred to failed completely, and Wilson's Government, convinced of the good faith which characterized our neutrality, maintained the most cordial relations with Venezuela. The other allied powers also realized our sincerity, and during the war and after the conclusion of peace President Gomez received the warmest expressions of consideration from the Governments of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy.

> The cordial relations maintained by President Harding between his Government and that of Venezuela were signally demonstrated by the great celebration that occurred on the occasion of the unveiling in Central Park, New York City, of the statue of Simon Bolívar, the liberator of South America. and the memorable address which the President himself pronounced there on this theme. Cordial relations have been similarly maintained between the two Governments under the present Administration of President Coolidge.

> At the end of the last century, under the Administration of McKinley, some American publicists gave expression to obviously imperialistic doctrines according to which "the manifest destiny" and "the providential mission of the United States" indicated the need of direct intervention by this great nation in the affairs of Latin America. I was then living in my native city. Coro. where I received the principal newspapers and magazines of the United States. I was much impressed by the formulation of these doctrines, and to acquaint the Venezuelan public with them I translated some paragraphs of the articles in which they were contained and published them with my comments in an article entitled "North American Imperialism." This was reproduced in a book published in Caracas some vears later.

These doctrines were alarming at that time to all Venezuelan patriots; alarming also was the internal situation of the country itself, which might easily have led to the application of these was not expressed by acts of hostility or doctrines there, for civil war was then ill-will toward the United States. The chronic and the Government was bank-



PEDRO MANUEL ARCAYA Venezuelan Minister to the United States

rupt. But a quarter of a century has elapsed since then. Venezuela has been transformed and is today one of the most peaceful and financially sound countries of Latin America. other hand, imperialistic doctrines have been rejected alike by public opinion and by the leaders of foreign policy in the United States. The rulers of this great nation, moreover, have proved with such evident facts as Roosevelt's answer to the German Ambassador, above referred to, their desire to abstain completely from any intervention in the internal policy of Venezuela or in the administration of Venezuelan finances.

The recent statements, particularly of President Coolidge and his Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, opposing the policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of Latin-American countries have been very significant. The President, in his address of Feb. 20, said in reference to the Mexican people: "We do not harbor the slightest desire to dictate to them in the smallest degree. \* \* \* President Obregon sought the purchase charge of cruelty is also disproved by of a small amount of arms and muni- the fact that there has not been a single

tions from our Government. did what I thought was necessary to discharge the moral obligations of one friendly Government to another. I propose to continue whatever course of action is customary between friendly Governments." The fulfillment of the international duties of one Government toward another with which it has diplomatic relations in in fact very different from intervention. The Secretary of State, in his address of Aug. 30, 1923. said: "The Monroe Doctrine does not attempt to establish a protectorate over Latin-American States. Certainly the declaration that intervention by non-American powers encroaching upon the independence of American States will be regarded as dangerous to our safety gives no justification for such an intervention on our own part."

The intelligent American public, well informed of the policy of its Government with respect to the sovereignty of other nations, has undoubtedly rejected the propaganda which some Venezuelan enemies of President Gomez have carried on in this country. published series of articles, by them in THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE and in other periodicals in which the Gomez Government is painted in the blackest colors, should be regarded merely as reflecting the opinions of professional politicians who think that this campaign may aid them to gain possession of power in Venezuela.

#### GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED BY PEOPLE

That the Administration headed by General Gomez is supported by popular will is demonstrated by its stability and by the long peace which the country has succeeded in establishing. The Venezuelan people is one of the most warlike of Latin America and no unpopular Government can be maintained there. The re-elections of General Gomez in accordance with legal process of law, far from demonstrating that he is a dictator or a usurper, as his enemies declare, prove that he is supported by the Venezuelan people as a whole. The

that the death penalty does not exist in Venezuelan law, but General Gomez might have had it re-established if he had been the tyrant which his enemies assert him to be. Nor should it be forgotten that since the beginning of 1922 General Gomez has liberated almost all political prisoners who still remained incarcerated.

We have seen what the condition of Venezuela was when Roosevelt was President of the United States and when the German Ambassador asked him to take over the public revenues of Venezuela. After the terms of all settlements deriving from the blockade had been carried out, General Cipriano Castro, who was at that time President of the republic, began to fulfill the obligations agreed upon, but in doing so was compelled to contract new debts with the Bank of Venezuela. Furthermore, because of certain acts of violence committed against foreigners, many new claims had been presented by the United States and France, these claims being unsettled at the time when General Gomez took power at the end of 1908. The financial situation seemed to be desperate, for the funds of the Bank of Venezuela had been exhausted by new exactions of the Government, which needed money to meet its foreign obligations and the requirements of the public service.

The American publicist Stephen Bonsal, in his book "The American Mediterranean," which is not at all favorable to Gomez, whom he called "an ignorant mountaineer," and which he wrote just when Gomez took power in Venezuela, expressed himself thus: "The extremely difficult question which confronts Don Vicente Gomez and which has to be solved if he would remain in power, is one of ways and means. How and where, with commerce dead and credit at the vanishing point, is the new President to find the money required to satisfy the exorbitant demands of the soldiers and at the same time meet engagements recently entered into with the foreign creditors? If Don Vicente Gomez solves this question he

execution under his rule. It is true will have shown some of the qualities of a Colbert or a Hamilton, which at present he is not generally supposed to possess."

HOW FINANCIAL STABILITY WAS WON

Comez has not studied books on finance nor has he ever aspired to be considered as a Colbert or a Hamilton, but he fully realizes his great duties toward the fatherland, he knows how to maintain peace and he is honest in the management of public funds. "The mountaineer" began with a measure which would have been considered absurd by any scientific financier. He asked Congress, which granted his request, for the elimination of the exportation tax, thus destroying a great source of revenue in a budget which was being balanced by deficits. Gomez knew that with peace and a good administration everything would be arranged. The creditors of Venezuela themselves bear witness to the republic's success in fulfilling its obligations under the Gomez régime. In confirmation I quote here from the Reports of the Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders of London, covering the years 1910 to 1922:

1910: During the past year the Government of Venezuela has continued to discharge its obligations to the bondholders with entire regularity.

1911: It is a pleasure to record again

the honorable manner in which the Gov-ernment of Venezuela has continued to treat its foreign creditors.

1912: The Government of Venezuela has continued to attend to its obligations toward the bondholders with commendable regularity.

1913: The republic continues to occupy its position in the front rank as a State which scrupulously observes its obligations to the holders of its external debt.

[In 1914 some differences appear, due to the exchange, which since that time has been favorable to the bolivar with rela-tion to the pound sterling, but confidence was shown in the final adjustment.]

was shown in the final adjustment.]

1915: It is satisfactory to state that the confidence expressed by the Council in their last report that the Government of Venezuela would observe its obligations was not misplaced.

1916: The service of the external debt has been maintained in full with entire regularity during the past year.

1917: Both these countries [Venezuela and Colombia] have continued to pay their foreign obligations with entire punctuality.

their foreign obligations with entire punctuality.

1918: The service of the external debt has been maintained with entire regular-ity during the past year.

1919: The Council have again the satis-faction of recording the scrupulous fulfill-

ment by the Government of Venezuela of its obligations.

1920: The Government of Venezuela has duly provided the amount required to cover the service of the debt.

1921: The service of the debt has been duly paid in sterling.

1922: After the application of the half yearly sinking fund at the end of December, 1922, the 3 per cent. diplomatic debt, which in 1905 amounted to £5,229,700, has in the seventeen years that have elapsed been reduced by £2,794,380, leaving the amount outstanding £2,435,320, or about 46 per cent. of the original total. There is no doubt that the soundness of the currency is a most favorable feature of Venezuelan finance. The bolivar still stands at premium over the pound and the currency is not tampered with by the Government. Government.

By means of the payments made subsequently to the last of the reports quoted, the foreign debt, properly so called, has been reduced to approximately 40 per cent. Furthermore, there has been a cancellation up to the last cent of the debts rising from the claims for damage and injury decreed by the Mixed Commissions of 1903. All the other claims, both French and American, arising from acts of the Castro Government, and which General Gomez found still unsettled, were finally adjusted and arranged. The same may be said of an older claim made by an English railway company. Other debts of a diplomatic character coming from old agreements have also been eliminated, so that, taken as a whole, our obligations to foreign creditors have been reduced almost to 25 per cent., and when the Administration of General Gomez terminates they will have been completely At this present moment the settled. Government could cancel them all with one check, a sight check drawn against its gold deposits in the Bank of Venezuela, if it should so elect. The internal debt has also been considerably reduced. This has been done without the contracting of any new loan or the emission of any paper money. Bank of Venezuela, which was also a creditor of the Government before the Administration of Gomez, has now become the depositary of large sums of gold which the Treasury maintains in its vaults. Not once has the Government failed to balance the budget, which has always been religiously provided for. Public expense has considerably increased owing to new services, and be- and sometimes above par.

cause of new works greater apportionments have been made than under previous Governments, including the progressive rule of Guzman Blanco. especially in the matter of public roads.

#### FALSE PROPAGANDA

In Current History for June, 1923, a revolutionary writer attributed to Gomez acts of expropriation, even of private property, which he charged were carried out by Gomez for the sake of enriching himself personally. One case cited was this: "He [Gomez] forced two venerable old ladies to sell him at an absurd price a piece of property in the State of Aragua, called La Trinidad; they signed the deed of transfer under coercion amid bitter tears." In the report of the Federal Court of Cassation of Venezuela to Congress in 1913 (Pages 148 to 160) it may be seen that this property belonged to General Simón Bello and his wife, Doña Josefa Castro de Bello, sister of General Cipriano Cas-This property was expropriated for the nation in 1912 on the ground of public utility, all legal measures having been taken previously and a just price being paid to its owners. General Bello, transformed by the contributor to CURRENT HISTORY into a weeping old lady, led in the middle of 1913 a revolutionary expedition that ended in a fiasco. He disembarked at the Port of La Vela, where he was made a prisoner. Of a similar nature are all the alleged crimes imputed to Gomez,

Venezuela is at peace. Foreign capital is being invested there in great quantity, chiefly in oil enterprises. work is guaranteed in the case of foreigners as well as of Venezuelans. Venezuelan enterprises as powerful as the Central Sugar Company of Mr. Paris in Zulia, and many others, both agricultural and industrial, have been established during the Administration of General Gomez and are prospering. The public debt has been extraordinarily reduced and will soon be completely cancelled, as I have explained. The bolivar is the only coin in the world whose exchange is on a par with the dollar

# Miguel De Unamuno's Banishment From Spain

By Ernesto Montenegro

group of Generals headed by Primo de Rivera, Captain General of Barcelona, gave the full measure of what was to be expected of the new régime when it issued the three memorable decrees incorporated in the body of its manifesto. Censorship both of the press and platform was to be strictly enforced; no reference to the person of the sovereign would be tolerated; finally, secret denunciation of all enemies of the new Government and of persons in connivance with the old was urged.

The first prominent victim of this despotic decree is Miguel de Unamuno, professor at Salamanca University, former rector of this ancient seat of learning and a widely known writer. Unamuno was dismissed from his chair and summarily exiled from Sprin.

The banishment is the culmination of a long-standing duel between Unamuno and the monarchy. In 1921, at the time of the great military disaster in Morocco, Unamuno began his denunciation of the Government, or rather of the Crown, and with his usual vehemence he did not hesitate to name the King in pointing to the men responsible for the failure.

A series of prosecutions (one for each article he published) was instituted against Unamuno before the High Tribunal at Valencia. One of the charges on which the publicist was tried was that he had applied to the King the familiar diminutive "Alfonsito." Professor Unamuno was finally condemned to sixteen years' imprisonment. The cry of protest this sentence brought forth

HE Spanish Directorate, ushered however, for the royal pardon had been into power last September by the arranged last ist Party wanted was to bring Unamuno to his knees, and in this they partially succeeded. An honest man, Unamuno was easily persuaded that an interview with the King would further the cause he was supporting; but as soon as he went to the palace he awoke to the realization that all that had been wanted was to make it appear before the public that Unamuno had surrendered his principles.

It is but natural that the old duel should have been revived with increased bitterness on both sides after the recent change of Government in Spain. For months Unamuno held the same apprehensive view as citizens of other political creeds. He and his fellow-citizens saw a group of young Generals take the Government from the hands of the Ministers responsible to the Crown, in open understanding with the King; they saw Congress come to an early adjournment, and the investigation of the Moroccan responsibilities, started in all earnestness, taken from the Parliamentary Committee and entrusted to a military council; they witnessed the dissolution of 10,000 municipal councils throughout the country and the substitution of a local junta composed of the higher taxpayers, with a military officer as controller; finally, they saw trial by jury abolished.

Only now, months after the selfappointed term of ninety days within which de Rivera had promised to clean up the politics of the country, to balance its finances and to recall the troops from Africa, have the first symptoms of disappointment begun to appear. In the from the intellectuals of Spain and dictator's manifesto-an amazing docother countries came a little too late, ument-many promises were made, which proved only the audacity and in- Both of them ignored all academic experience of the military Directorate in restraint and the official censorship political matters. The promised economies could not be effected, as the Mo-Rivera of knowing something of the roccan campaign was eating up all resources; the Moorish war itself, which had been promised a speedy end, with the withdrawal of the greater number of the 140,000 soldiers in the field, culminated, instead, in another bloody reverse, and a consequent renewal of hostilities. The shameful request for secret reports of political activity, which brought to the Government a flood of false information, inspired in most part by personal grudges, had to be stopped. The pilgrimage to Rome only brought one more disappointment in the question of the international zone of Tangier, from which France was not to be removed. Another promise made to the industrialists of Catalonia had to be broken when the cancellation of international treaties was found impossible by the new-General-statesman, who had committed himself to a high protective tariff in return for Catalonian support.

But the main issue is still that of sifting the responsibilities for the disaster of Anual (1921), in which the General in command and about 25,000 soldiers were lost to Spain. This is the case about which the entire question of official efficiency and honesty revolves. The greatest misgivings are, naturally, entertained on this score, in view of the fact that the Directorate is made up of the same group of Generals who, having revolted in 1917, were subsequently won over with promotions and sinecures by the same civil Government they overthrew in 1922. It is enough to say that one of the members of the Directorate is a brother of General Berenguer, the former High Commissioner in Morocco, upon whom the weight of accusation was to have fallen.

On Feb. 21 of this year a public gathering took place in the Ateneo of Madrid, a centre of culture for the spreading of scientific and artistic information. Unamuno and a former Republican representative in Congress, Rodrigo Soriano, were the speakers. present régime.

as well. Unamuno accused Primo de disposition of bribes paid by the gambling houses in Barcelona, where he had held command, and alluded to the Royal Palace as "the Monte Carlo of the Plaza de Oriente." The gist of Unamuno's argument was that, by casting its fortune with the military dictatorship, the monarchy had shown its true colors. "From now on, the thought of a monarchy and a liberal Government in Spain cannot be associated," he said.

Whereupon, a royal order dismissed Unamuno from his chair in Salamanca, sent him and Soriano to the Canary Islands, closed the Ateneo, and put the building in which this centre of liberal culture functioned at the disposal of the Produce Exchange for its periodical exhibitions.

In Spain as well as in Spanish-American and other Latin countries the banishment of Unamuno has caused general protest. Liberal opinion all over the civilized world has denounced the tyrannical attitude of the Spanish dictatorship. Gabriele d'Annunzio indited one of his lyrical harangues; Romain Rolland appealed to international solidarity in favor of Unamuno, a world citizen: Miomiandre declared the case would be analogous if President Millerand should send Bergson, the philosopher, into exile because he does not approve of Poincaré's policies. The incident reveals the dictatorship's weakness; the rage of disappointment and the fear of public opinion are in evidence, when the views of a writer with no political following to speak of, cause the Government to take such inquisitorial measures. The incident also blights another plan of the Royalist Party, the visit of the King to Argentina and Chile, for those democracies will not be willing to extend a welcome to a violator of the human rights for which they fought their war of independence. And Unamuno's words that monarchy and liberalism will never meet again in Spain are already beginning to sound the death-knell of the

## America Vitalizing International Law by Arbitration

By Joseph Conrad Fehr

Associate Counsel for the United States before the Mixed Claims Commission, now in session at Washington

ment of countless international claims and differences through the institution of the most momentous arbitration proceedings ever entered into between nations; these negotiations, the significance of which has not yet been fully appreciated, constitute the substitution of litigation for force; working, through judiciary tribunals, toward the settlement of differences that have hitherto given cause for war, they offer a concrete basis for the ultimate establishment of universal peace.

The American program provides for the immediate organization of two claims commissions between the United States and Mexico, pursuant to the General Claims Convention and the Special Claims Convention which the two countries agreed upon last Fall and ratified

early this year.

Recognition of Mexico was delayed for many years because both the Wilson and Harding Administrations understood the importance of the step from the standpoint of international law. Recognition of the present régime in Mexico was extended only after the Obregon Government had expressed its willingness to assume responsibility for the losses and damages inflicted upon American citizens by the respective de facto and de jure Governments previously in power. Negotiations leading to the signing of the two conventions were conducted on behalf of the United States under the direction of Secretary Hughes, by Charles Beecher Warren, former Ambassador of the United States to Japan, and John Barton Payne,

THE United States is now taking can-Mexican Commission which met in steps to bring about the settle- Mexico City on May 14, 1923, and completed its work on Aug. 15, 1923.

> The terms of the conventions creating the two claims commissions, empowered them to determine judicially the obligations of each nation toward the other and its respective nationals, for acts resulting in loss, or damage to person or property. When Messrs. Warren and Payne opened negotiations in Mexico City in the Summer of 1923, they made it clear that recognition of the Obregon Government by the United States was conditional upon a manifestation of good faith by Mexico in making a satisfactory adjustment of all American Repudiation of the confiscatory application of certain provisions of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 was insisted upon as a preliminary to the proceedings.

> Secretary Hughes in a communication to the Senate on Jan. 14, 1924, declared the main questions relative to American claims against Mexico to be: (1) The restoration or proper reparation for the taking of lands owned by American citizens prior to May 1, 1917; (2) The obtaining of satisfactory assurances against confiscation of the subsoil interests in lands owned by American citizens prior to May 1, 1917; (3) the making of appropriate claims con-

ventions.

Complying with the demands of the people, the Government of Mexico, in 1917, readjusted large land holdings and organized them into towns or villages, called "ejidos," without in any way indemnifying or compensating the private owners. This amazing action, former Secretary of the Interior, the invalidating titles to property rights American representatives on the Ameri-which had been legally acquired by American citizens, caused much hard-1 ship and injury to American property owners in Mexico and elicited a protest from the United States Government, which insisted that Mexico make just compensation to the owners in accordance with the accepted practice of enlightened Governments in expropriation proceedings. Mexico offered to make satisfactory amends, and on the strength of her assurances the present program of judicial arbitration was drafted.

Secretary Hughes thus defines the different functions and purposes of the two commissions:

The General Claims Commission has jurisdiction over all claims of the citizens of either country against the other for losses or damages suffered by persons or by their properties, whether such citizens are corporations, companies, associations, partnerships or individuals, as well as over claims by citizens of either country growing out of losses or damages suffered by any corporation, company, association or partnership in which such citizens have or have had an interest, provided an allotment to the claimant of his proportion of the loss or damage is presented to the commission, and all claims for losses or damages originating from acts of officials or others acting for either Government and resulting in injustice. \* \*

The Special Claims Commission created by this convention is charged with ex-amining and deciding all claims which re-sulted from any act by the following Mex-

ican forces:

1. By forces of a Government de jure or de facto;

2. By revolutionary forces as a result of the triumph of whose cause Governments de facto and de jure have been established, or by revolutionary forces opposed

as to them:

3. By forces arising from the disjunction of the forces mentioned in Clause 2 up to the time when the Government de jure established itself as a result of a particular revolution;

4. By Federal forces that were disbanded;

5. By mutinies or mobs or insurrection-

5. By mutinies, or mobs, or insurrectionary forces other than those referred to under Clauses 2, 3, and 4 above, or by bandits, provided in any case it be established that the appropriate authorities omitted to take reasonable measures to suppress insurrectionists, mobs, or bandits, or treated them with lenity or were in fault in other particulars. bandits, or treated them with ler were in fault in other particulars.

In accordance with the plan for judicial arbitration, Mexico has ordered the return to American owners of all property and rights, confiscated or wrongfully obtained during the revolution, and has further promised that, if it is established that any property or rights of a citizen of the United States have not been restored, the Government will issue the necessary orders wherever possible.

Among the thousands of claims re- mere tradition.

sulting from the revolutionary activities in Mexico are those of numerous Mormon settlers in the State of Chihauhua. The lands and worldly possessions of this sect were confiscated during the various uprisings of the past thirteen years, the loss compelling many of the victims to leave the country. The Department of State is now studying these, with other claims against Mexico, as a preliminary to negotiations.

The United States, in countenancing the establishment of these new judicial agencies for internationally sanctioned arbitral action, is gradually committing the world to the doctrine that all differences between nations can be settled amicably and honorably by the sound, impartial judgment of able and learned jurists qualified to apply established principles of law and customs to such questions. International law must rest upon a scientific structure and must, further, be imbued with color and complexion, if it is to wield the influence which for so many centuries has been exercised by the common law of England. This new prestige and authority which international law is now demonstrating are traceable largely to the arbitrament by the United States of claims and other disputes between nations. So great has been the growth of this field of law in recent years that it bids fair to measure up to all the hopes and expectations of Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel and other publicists, to whom much of its early development was due.

It can no longer be argued that the so-called law of nations is ineffective and negligible because nations failed to endow it with rules governing interna-This criticism, lamtional conduct. entably enough, has not been wholly without foundation; international tribunals, sitting in judgment upon controversies between nations as lately as forty years ago, completely failed to recognize their opportunities to build up the law of nations and codify its fundamental principles and doctrines. Most of the early international courts and commissions, indeed, left this interesting field much as they found it—a

Jurists and publicists who first considered international affairs from a juridical standpoint found the statute on this subject to be little more than a legal corpse. Unlike Coke, Mansfield and Blackstone, who breathed into the lifeless marble of the common law the vitality of life and "the air of science," they left it, with few exceptions, the cold statue it had always been. Recognizing this unfortunate failure of nations in the past to accept the responsibility of clothing international law with vitality and power so that finally it might outgrow its own impotency, the United States is determined to enlist the cooperation of other nations in building for the future an organized system of international jurisprudence. It is acknowledged, further, that this result can be accomplished only through international courts which will base their decisions and opinions on sound rules and principles, thereby creating a body of international law possessed of character and binding strength.

This purpose, so vital to the solution that the United States and other nations are striving for, dominated the proceedings of the so-called Alabama arbitration, the American-Venezuelan arbitration and the recent sessions of the British-American Claims Commission which stand forth as the foremost arbitral bodies in the history of the world. They undoubtedly contributed most of the fundamental precedents underlying the few valuable decisions and settled rules by which international tribunals are willing to be governed today.

Elihu Root, while Secretary of State, was largely instrumental in the organization of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. This assembly was authorized by the convention creating it to pass upon all international differences and misunderstandings properly coming within its jurisdiction. No adjudication was to be announced unless accompanied by a written opinion defining clearly the reasons upon which each decision was based. This constituted one of the first steps in the development of an active law of nations endowed with the power of authority and supremacy over individual nations.

Mr. Root and Secretary Hughes have often pointed out that, when nations agree to refer a dispute or group of claims to a designated or appointed tribunal for settlement, the decisions of that court quite properly receive the solemn sanction of the nations concerned, inasmuch as their observance is, as Mr. Hughes has remarked, "a point of international honor of the highest sort."

#### 12,000 CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY

The United States and Germany, in recognition of this code of integrity, are now engaged upon the amicable settlement of the greatest international lawsuit ever proposed for arbitration. President Coolidge in his message to Congress emphasized the fact that this proceeding involves the disposition of more than 12,000 claims arising out of the war with Germany. These claims, now being presented before the Mixed Claims Commission, comprising representatives of the United States and Germany, are in nowise arbitrarily settled; the process of adjudication calls for written decisions upon countless questions, many of these being without legal precedent, and necessitating the formulation by the commission of definite rules and doctrines which are rapidly becoming an essential part of international jurisprudence.

Germany's obligation to pay for all losses sustained by American nationals in the sinking of the steamship Lusitania on May 7, 1915, was one of the questions decided by the commission; more than 3,000 claims, totaling \$360,000,-000, for reimbursement of excess war risk insurance premiums paid on American shipping during the war, were summarily dismissed by the commission. which found these were not "susceptible of being measured with a reasonable exactness by pecuniary standards" nor attributable "to Germany's act as the proximate cause" as defined by the Treaty of Berlin.

each decision was based. This constituted one of the first steps in the development of an active law of nations endowed with the power of authority and supremacy over individual nations.

Judge Edwin B. Parker of Texas and New York, who was Chairman of the United States Liquidation Commission in Paris after the war, presides over the commission, which is now sitting at

Washington. The American Commissioner is Chandler P. Anderson, who frequently participated in ternational arbitral proceedings which the United States has been a party. Dr. Wilhelm Kiesselbach of Hamburg, a renowned specialist in international law, is the German Commissioner. The United States is represented before the commission by Robert W. Bonynge of New York, former Congressman from Colorado and previously a member of the United States Monetary Commission, who, as agent and chief counsel, is assisted by a staff of associate counsel. Karl von Lewinski, one of Germany's experts on the Treaty of Versailles, is the German agent and These distinguished chief counsel. jurists and lawyers are charged with the responsibility of deciding the merits of the numerous classes of claims bearing upon the Treaty of Berlin of Aug. 25, 1921, which incorporates, by reference, the main provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

Despite the fact that the United States did not elect to become a party to the Versailles Treaty and to present its claims before the reparations body, the Mixed Claims Commission has been granted authority to perform, so far as the United States is concerned, the duties and functions of the Reparation Commission. The commission's determination of the claims by means of definitive decisions and opinions interpreting the very clauses and sections of the Treaty of Versailles which constitute an issue between Germany and the former allied Governments, has been watched with close attention by reparations experts in Europe, with the result that the proceedings before the Mixed Claims Commission are proving profoundly influential in helping Europe solve her post-war problems by similar methods.

Although the United States and other nations sympathetic to the arbitration method are thus earnestly seeking to establish a definite plan of cooperation intended to build up a body of public law having supreme authority over all internationally justiciable matters, there are still some nations which contend

that Governments yield certain qualities of sovereignty or national independence in subscribing to such a program. Soviet Russia, at present the chief exponent of this view, maintains a policy of utter isolation and apparent contempt for the rest of the world. This attitude presents a problem of far-reaching effect upon the painstaking efforts now being put forth to vitalize international public law. For that reason the United States has not seriously considered Russia's proposals for the reopening of trade relations, which would lead to the recognition of the Soviet Government and place Russia again in the family of nations. Secretary Hughes, in compliance with a resolution adopted in the Senate, has furnished the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with all the information and data acquired by the Department of State explaining this Government's attitude toward Russia; the resolution ordered a subcommittee, headed by Senator William E. Borah, to make an investigation of the situation. The inquiry disclosed the astounding fact that the United States and her nationals have claims against Russia amounting to nearly \$800,000,000. American claims relating to property confiscated by the Soviet Government are estimated at about \$400,000,000. and there are additional items of \$241,-903,072, representing the debt contracted by the Kerensky régime with the United States Government, and the \$75,-000,000 bond issue which was floated in America by the Kerensky Government just before its fall. These debts, aggregating \$316,903,072, have been specifically repudiated by the Soviet authorities in an official decree denying liability for any foreign loans contracted either by the Czarist or Kerensky Governments.

President Coolidge, in his message to Congress, pointed out that Russia has indicated no "disposition to compensate our citizens who are despoiled"; and, unless the successors to Lenin show their good faith by making adequate compensation and restitution on all sound claims held by the United States and her nationals, this Government will insist, and properly, that recognition of Russia is beyond discussion at this time.

# New Destructive Agencies of War

By N. SLOUTZKI

Attaché, Disarmament Section of the League of Nations; graduate Law School, University of Geneva; writer on international law

it has brought with it an entirely new menace to civilization. This arises from the fact that whole civilian populations, as well as the combatants in the field, have become to an increasing extent annihilation. Since the murderous strife of the World War broke loose, all our ideas of war have been revolutionized. Aerial fighting alone would have sufficed to do that, but to the new armory of lethal weapons there is added chemical warfare, with its possibilities of blotting out human life over large areas by means of filling the atmosphere with poisonous gases.

Modern war is a scientific war, a war of machines. In the preface to "Chemical Warfare," by Amos A. Fries, chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army, and Major Clarence J. West, Major Gen. W. L. Sibert says that "men are nothing in modern war unless they are equipped with the most effective devices for killing and maiming the enemy's soldiers and thoroughly trained in the use of such implements. Of all the machines destined to kill men. the airplane is, without any doubt, the most important." "Tanks and heavy artillery," says General Maitrot of the French Army, in his book on the next war, "are nothing in comparison with the airplane which will reign as uncontested sovereign in future world struggles, as the submarine will reign in the sea. He who is master of the air will be master of the ground, and the vic-

THE development which has taken which distance does not exist, becomes place in the engines, weapons and a tremendous danger to the security of methods of war in recent years the civil population. "What is a bombhas been not only amazing itself, but ing airplane?" asks General Maitrot. and he answers the question in these words: "It is a machine that can carry a projectile hundreds of miles. what projectiles! At the time of the armistice the French possessed bombs open to attack and liable to complete each weighing 1,100 pounds, twenty of which could annihilate the quarter of a town."

To emphasize how terrific the new destructive agencies of war have become, William Henry Irwin points out that in future "the gas bombardment of capitals and great towns is not only a possibility but a strong probability almost a certainty. Military staffs have had time to think, to carry out the changes and discoveries of the great war to their logical conclusion. They see that even with the known gases, the existing airplanes, Paris, Rome or London could in one night be changed from a metropolis to a necropolis." And to reinforce this statement Mr. Irwin quotes the evidence of numerous officers of the British and United States armies; for example, Brig. Mitchell of the United States Army, who says that "a few planes could visit New York as the central point of a territory 100 miles square every eight days and drop enough gas to keep the entire area inundated. \* \* \* Two hundred tons of phosgene gas could be laid every eight days and would be enough to kill every inhabitant." Captain Brander, Chief of Research of the Chemical Warfare Service, declares that "one plane carrying two tons of the liquid (a certain gastory will be gained by the one best generating compound) could cover an provided with air tools." If this con- area of 100 feet wide and seven miles cerned weapons of war destined for use long, and could deposit enough material on the battlefield only, we should not to kill every man in that area by action make any objection. But aviation for on his skin." Major Gen. E. D. Swinton

of the British Army says that "when you speak of gas you must remember that you are discussing a weapon which must be considered from the wholesale point of view, and if you use it—and I do not know of any reason why you should not—you may kill hundreds of thousands of men or, any rate, disable them."

Here are further points that pin down the fact that chemical science has added incredible horrors to war.

Knappen says:

Warfare service that 200 tons of the newer military gases would destroy or paralyze for a time all human and animal life on Manhattan Island. \* \* The entire volume of life of a nation would be in danger literally of annihilation. \* \* Nations would not triumph over each other, but would die together.

Captain Glasson, a French army officer, writes:

It is against the urban agglomerations that the belligerents will be infuriated, because the large towns are the nerve

centres of nations, and because all sorts of industries indispensable for the working of national economy are located there. The women, old people and children will be attacked because they will be employed in the work of producing war materials. And even if they fled or were free, the most remote corners of the country would not be sheltered from destruction by the enemy.

General Fonville, another French expert, says:

We must resign ourselves to the fact that it is no use to veil one's face. \* \* \* We can never deny the place that gas has conquered in the arsenal of war. On the contrary, its importance will increase, and if we consider the development that aviation will make and then reflect on the combining of these two engines of war, we can imagine fleets of airplanes charged with heavy cases of gas. \* \* \* Towns and villages behind the lines will see poisoned clouds falling on them from the sky. Is this romance or imagination? Not so. Anticipation, no more; and so possible that one might almost call it imminent. imminent.

Perhaps the most graphic picture of the possibilities of new warfare was given in The Manchester Guardian of Dec. 18, 1923:

Gilliams

The victory in this (the next) war will depend largely upon the destruction of helpless non-combatants far in the rear of the fighting lines, and this destruction will be chiefly brought by airplanes. Poisons, including both gases and deathealing germs, will dealing germs, will be scattered over the cities. In c e ndiary bombs will start fires, and explosive bombs will destroy factories and lines of communication along with the civil population. \* \* There is scarcely a city in America which could not be destroyed, together with every living person therein, say, within three days of the declaration of war between America and such a country as Japan on the Asiatic side, or a new group, such as Russia, Germany and Bulgaria, from the European side. \* \* An airship leaving Europe could be attacking New York in less than forty hours from the time of her departure. \* \* \* Assuming that the machine will be carried to within 200 miles of its objective, either by a floating aircraft carrier or an airship, it could carry two bombs of 2,000 pounds cach. Any such bomb could not only com-

A new type of anti-aircraft gun, on an improved mount which increases accuracy in aiming

pletely destroy the Woolworth Building, if dropped upon it, but would probably shatter any other building within a radius of 200 yards from the point where it had been dropped.

It will be said that it is impossible that men should think seriously of destroving each other by barbarous means. Quite recently, however, the question was answered in the Frankfurter Zeitung, in an article by Dr. Parseval, published on Jan. 26, 1924, in which he said:

The airplanes will have a double task: to fight the enemy of the front and the rear. The latter part, which is very important, may be hindered by the restrictions imposed on the airplanes because of the non-combatants. \* \* \* Happily, a more modern notion allows that the enemy's country as a whole, with all its resources, must be considered as taking part in the war, consequently his adversary may destroy everything.

#### PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS

How can we prevent the danger which threatens the civil population? reply that immediately suggests itself is undoubtedly that of prohibiting by international conventions all air attacks on the civil population. In spite of the fact that the violation of international conventions seems to be one of the characteristic traits of our present humanity, and in spite of Dr. Parseval's disconcerting article, we are forced to confess that there seems to be at the present time no other preventive means, so that we must resign ourselves to the employment of international conventions with all the attendant difficulties of securing enforcement. Subterfuges that enable a belligerent to evade observance of international agreements are unhappily too frequent. Insufficiently clear or precise, they give to the contracting parties the possibility of violating the terms under the pretense of an elastic and often selfish interpretation. If the convention or agreement concerns an insignificant question, the misfortune is not great and can be repaired, but in the case of aerial, chemical or other forms of warfare, thousands of innocent human beings are in danger of death.

Two treaties of The Hague sought

World War. The first, that of July 29, 1899, formally prohibited the throwing of explosives from balloons and the employment of projectiles destined only to diffuse asphyxiating gas. The treaty of 1899 was signed by all the participants in the World War. In 1907 the prohibition of aerial war was renewed, but the fate of that treaty was quite changed. Aviation was beginning to advance. In 1899 only inoffensive spherical balloons were being used, and they were almost useless in war. was not difficult to agree on that point. In 1907 the usefulness of airplanes was already understood, and a large number of countries considered it impossible to do without military aviation. Several countries, including France, Germany and Russia, voted against the Declaration of 1907; other countries refused to ratify it, and only two great powers, Great Britain and the United States, signed the treaty. It is not surprising, then, that the Declaration of 1907 failed in its purpose during the World War. Indeed, this declaration required that all the belligerents, without exception, must be parties to the treaty if it were to be valid. clauses of the Declaration of 1907 were therefore useless, although the treaty of 1899 remained in force. As to the forbidding of war with gas, it should be remembered that this was provided for in the treaty of 1899, which was signed by all belligerents, whereas the Declaration of 1907 ignored the question.

The countries that refused to sign the Declaration of 1907 or to ratify the treaty were not deceived as to the usefulness of military aviation. The part played by the flying troops was important during the last war: in future wars it will, as we have seen, be greater still. Even if the writers who discuss the subject are gloomy in their forebodings, there is no doubt that the physical sufferings of the civil population under the new conditions of warfare will be far more serious than they have ever been in the past. And it will be aircraft and gas that will cause their suffering.

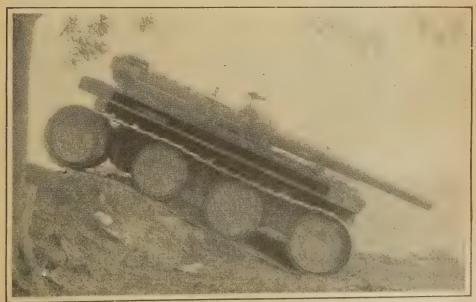
Public opinion has been deeply to regulate air bombardment before the moved by this terrible prospect, and the representatives of the Governments barding was legitimate only when diof a number of countries have again assembled to decide the question of bombarding towns. After the conference at Washington, a body called the Commission of Jurists was appointed to examine the question of the employ-ment of new engines of war. The commission met at The Hague in 1922 and 1923. Two plans were presented to the air sub-commission relating to airwar—one by the United States, the other by Great Britain, the latter being supported by France. The United States proposed that towns situated outside the zone of combat" should not be bombarded, in order to spare the civilians the horrors of the air-war (Article 33, Chapter viii.). The bombarding of the enemy's forces, military establishments, lines of communication and so forth of combat" and "military object." The were to be allowed. The French delegate former is incorporated in Paragraphs 3 in criticizing the American proposal re- and 4 of Article 24 of the definite plan, marked that it was impossible to state accepted by all parties. Paragraph 3 precisely what was meant by "zone of forbids bombarding of towns which are combat," nor could the delegation of not in the immediate neighborhood of the United States supply a satisfactory the operations of the land forces. and specific definition of the term. The Paragraph 4 allows such bombarding British plan proceeded from quite when the town lies in the immediate

rected toward a military object. Thus, the effort to regulate aerial warfare was made to hinge upon a definition of one or other of two terms-"zone of combat" and "military object."

On the Commission of Jurists each plan had its partisans. The countries wishing to restrain the air fighting as much as possible, that is, Japan, Italy and Holland, sided with the United States. On the other hand, France, as we have already seen, supported the British proposal.

#### JURISTS' COMPROMISE

A compromise was necessary to bring about an agreement, and this was reached by the adoption of both the principles indicated by the terms "zone another principle, that is, that air bom- neighborhood of the operations of the



Gilliams



Gilliams

A tractor for carrying a gun that, in addition to attaining a speed of 30 miles an hour and climbing steep inclines, can be driven submerged in water up to the driver's chin

ficient reason to suppose that the military concentration is important enough to justify the bombardment, at the same time considering the danger incurred by the civil population. The principle of the "military object" is shown in Paragraph 1, which provides that air bombarding is legitimate only when directed against a military object. Paragraph

2 enumerates these objects.

The scheme as it left the hand of the Commission of Jurists cannot be considered satisfactory for the security of the civil population. The greatest objection to the first scheme of the United States, that is, the impossibility of defining the "zone of combat," is repeated in the definite plan. Further, it is questionable if the term "military object" can be clearly defined, even when different military objects such as military forces, works, depots and establishments are enumerated. When the French delegate was asked to define precisely what was a "military object," he advantage."

land forces, provided that there is suf- vantage" is extremely elastic, and it is to be feared that with such a vague definition the aggressor might be tempted to bombard the military works of a town, no matter how slight the "advantage" might be. Instead of estimating the "advantage" by the loss of life among the civil population, he would consider the cost of the ammunition that the bombardment required, being always able to fall back upon the excuse made possible by the expression "decided military advantage." The good faith of the belligerent might be at fault; he might have false information about the importance of the military works in a town bombarded or about the military forces therein or about any other relevant matter.

Paragraph 2 of Article 24 speaks of works for the manufacture of military implements. This also is a very vague expression. A plant can manufacture colors for domestic use, that may at the same time serve for gas-war. motors that are produced for a private explained that it was one the total or automobile can serve perfectly well for partial destruction of which would hin-military airplanes. A cloth factory can der the enemy in the pursuit of the war. at the same time make fine cloth for Paragraph 1 of article 24 in the definite civilian attire and fabrics to clothe plan defines a "military object" as one troops. Lodz, in Poland, for example, "whose total or partial destruction will is just such a local centre. How could give the aggressor a decided military the enemy know if the factories which But the notion of an "ad- in time of peace produce cloth for ordinary use, do not, in time of war, tion. Such measures were proposed by make military uniforms? Numerous ex- the Dutch delegation by adding to amples of the same kind can be quoted. Article 33 of the original American plan Paragraph 2 speaks of lines of com- which prohibited the bombardment of munication or transport used for mili- towns outside the theatre of war, the tary purposes. Yet a railway of great words, "even if in these localities miliimportance may not only be used for tary objects are to be found." If it is military purposes, but also for civil pur- not possible to return to the Declaration poses. The military point of view, it of The Hague of 1907, which prohibited may be said, is more important in time all air war even against combatants, we of war than the civil. But in modern must at least have the unqualified prowar the two are intimately related, and hibition of the bombardment of towns. if there be rivalry between the two, and In other words, military airplanes one attributes more importance to the should have the same character as the military standpoint in time of war, there tank; they should be employed only on is the risk of completely ignoring the the battlefield between the combatants. distinction between combatants and non-Yet, even if military aviation is limited combatants. If we examine the other to the theatre of war, abuses on the paragraphs of Article 24, we get the part of the belligerents will not be same result. For instance, Paragraph 4 found wanting. The elastic expression allows the bombardment of towns in the "theatre of war" will no doubt allow immediate vicinity of the battle front, them to bombard certain localities and But when can a town be considered to towns which should be spared because be in the "immediate vicinity"? In fact of their distance. we come back to the expression "zone of combat" in the original plan put forward by the United States. Neither term is sufficiently clear and leaves the belligerents to judge for themselves.

#### CONTRADICTORY AIMS

The impression one receives in studying the plan of the Commission of Commission of Jurists, all towns, even Jurists is that the security of the civil the most distant, may be bombarded if population is far from being assured by they contain military objects, Article 33 the provisions it contains. Why is the of the original proposals made by the result so poor? Because two con- United States, amended by the Dutch tradictory aims were pursued—to derive proposal, would protect almost all the as much profit as possible from the civil population from air bombardment, aerial warfare and at the same time exposing only a limited number, that to shelter the civil population from its is, the population of towns and places risks and dangers. Only severely re-strictive measures, however, can guar-antee the security of the civil popula-of the expression "theatre of war."

However, if a certain number of towns and other centres of population are victims of the wide interpretation of the expression "theatre of war" or any other similar expression, yet all the rest of the territory will be spared the horrors of bombardment from the air. Although, according to the plan of the



### Prussia's Evasion of Reparations in 1812—a Historic Parallel

By Edwin L. James Paris Correspondent of The New York Times

has tried to make Germans pay reparations. Among the conditions of the Peace Treaty of Tilsit, 1807, after the French defeated the Prussians. were provisions for the payment of a war indemnity to Napoleon and for the disarmament of Prussia. Prussia neither paid nor disarmed. Six years after the making of the treaty, without having fulfilled her obligations, Prussia sent an army against France at the beginning of a struggle which finished at Waterloo in 1815, ending the glory of the Little Corporal.

The parallels between the tergivisations of that time and of the present are striking. The victors did not write the amount of the indemnity into the treaty, but, as with the makers of the Treaty of Versailles, they left that to be settled later. It was fixed at 150,000,000 francs. Almost immediately after agreeing to pay it, the Prussians began to evade payment. The excuses, the demands for reductions, the discussions of Prussia's capacity to pay, have been followed almost to the letter in the last four years. The disavowal of the maintenance of military forces in excess of treaty allotments, the camouflaged preparations for revenge - all have been followed, as if by a well-set rule, in the German declarations of recent times. Napoleon occupied not only the Ruhr Valley but the whole of Prussia as a guarantee for fulfillment of the treaty terms. But they were not fulfilled.

Few chronicles give better support to the saying that history repeats itself than the record of relations between France and Prussia from 1807 to 1813 and of those between France and Germany

THIS is not the first time France from 1918 to 1924. We see the French of Napoleon's day trying to set up a separate Rhineland; we see Great Britain, fearing a French hegemony of the Continent, going to Prussia's aid, much as in recent years she has so often stood between the French and the Germans; we see the same experts' discussions of loans by which Prussia could pay France, the same lack of good faith on the part of the Prussians, the same preaching of revenge on the German side of the Rhine.

> The campaign of 1806-1807 was ended with the Peace of Tilsit, signed on July 9, 1807, and followed by the Convention of Königsberg on July 12.



Napoleon Bonaparte, the French Emperor who in his time, like Premier Poincaré today, was faced with a problem of mak-ing Germany pay

Among the peace terms provision was made for the evacuation of occupied Prussian territory in proportion to payments by Prussia of a war indemnity to be fixed; Poland was established as an independent country, as in 1919, and as at Versailles, Danzig was made a free port; the Kingdom of Westphalia was set up and recognition was given to States decreed by Napoleon along the Rhine.

The question of war indemnity, or reparations, soon showed itself to be a thorny one. During the preparation of the Convention of Königsberg the chief French delegate, General Daru, had mentioned the sum of 100,000,000 francs. Four days later the King of Prussia, Frederick William III., sent an ambassador 'to Daru to tell him that Prussia found it impossible to pay such a large amount. In any case, he demanded a moratorium for the purpose of "permitting Prussia to re-establish herself," thus antedating the note writers of the German Republic by more than a hundred years. The King wrote to Napoleon: "It is certainly not your intention to destroy my monarchy, but that is what will happen if you hold us to these conditions." A month later the French delegates met at Berlin the Friedensvollziehungs (peace settlement) Commission, which corresponded to the Kriegslastern (war debt) Commission of our days. At the opening of the negotiations General Daru proposed the figure of 154,000,000 francs for the indemnity, and in addition demanded that Prussia bear the costs of the forces of occupation. In the style imitated more than a century later, the Prussians came back with the statement that most of this amount had already been paid in kind and that the balance owing was only 19,000,000 francs. However, with real generosity, they offered to settle for 30,000,000 francs. The French remained firm, informing the Prussians that they intended to have 154,000,000 francs and would begin to impose local assessments if the Berlin Government did not undertake to pay.

Then followed weeks of tiresome discussions, at the end of which Napoleon, Prussian King took the stand that the on Sept. 21,-1807, sent a note to the French demand was, in the eyes of the



Count Pierre Antoine N. B. Daru (1767-1829); a French General who held high positions under Napoleon and was concerned with making Prussia pay after the Treaty of Tilsit

King of Prussia saying that if his terms were not accepted he would, on Oct. 1, seize all the revenues of the kingdom. The Prussians voiced loud lamentations. declaring that this method of procedure was a violation of the peace treaty; they charged the French with imperialism and with seeking to make political capital out of the reparations issue. note written more than a century ago by President Sack of the Friedensvollziehungs Commission, in which he said that the French were making reparations an excuse to steal German territory, sounds like an official utterance of Herr Stresemann on behalf of the German Republic of today.

The Prussians' next move was to play politics with the Russians, endeavoring to induce Czar Alexander to intervene in Paris. The Russian ruler refused and advised the Prussians to meet the French conditions. In response to one of the many French notes of this period, the Prussian King took the stand that the French demand was, in the eyes of the

whole world, an exorbitant demand and that Prussia could not meet it. Two weeks later he made an offer of between 60 and 100 million francs, half to be paid in cash and half in annuities, at the same time attaching the condition that the troops of occupation should retire immediately after the 50 per cent. cash payments were made and asking other changes in the treaty relative to Subsequent revelations disarmament. show that at this time Frederick William and his Minister Stein were actively engaged in a plan to rebuild Prussia's military machine as quickly as possible, obviously for the purpose of gaining a position which would enable them to refuse to meet the annuities. It is not known whether Napoleon was cognizant of this development, but he refused to accept the Prussian conditions and on Oct. 6 ordered his troops in Prussia to seize all the public treasuries. At the same time an ultimatum was handed the Prussians fixing the reparations bill at 150,000,000 francs and stating that Stettin, Glogau and Kustrin would be held as guarantees by 6,000 men in each place, the cost to be paid by Berlin.

In view of the show the Prussians made of being ready to accept these terms (as they accepted the London Schedule more than a century later), Napoleon agreed to take into account payments in kind—in other words, to pay for seizures by his troops—and thus reduced the total bill to 112,000,000 francs. Stein advised the King that Germany could pay the 112,000,000 francs, but should not agree to the holding of the three cities as guarantees nor to the administration by the French troops of the occupied territory. In the note dispatched he put forward the plea that this would be an infringement of Prussian sovereignty and would damage the productive ability of Prussia. [For the present-day parallel see any German note of 1923 on the occupation of the Prince William, as envoy extraordinary uation of all occupied territory.



Frederick William III., King of Prussia throughout the whole period of the Na-poleonic wars. Born 1770, he ascended the throne in 1797 and died in 1840

to treat with Napoleon and sent the latter a proposal to examine Prussia's capacity of payment. At the same time he authorized his brother to accept, if necessary, the total of 112,000,000 francs, to be paid as follows: Cash. 12,000,000; notes of the Prussian Government, 50,000,000; mortgages on Government domains, 50,000,000. But, in return, the Prince was instructed to seek an alliance with Napoleon on condition that France forget the disarmament clauses of the treaty. Prussia was to promise to place 40,000 men at the disposal of Napoleon. In an effort to reach a settlement with Prussia, made desirable by the fact that he was undertaking heavy military campaigns in Italy and in Spain, Napoleon consented to reduce the indemnity to 108,000,000 francs, but insisted on the guarantees of the occupation of Prussian territory. The Prus-Ruhr.] Napoleon retorted by demand- sians naturally found this amount too ing immediate acceptance of the terms high and came back with an offer of of his ultimatum and by adding Grau- 101,000,000 francs, but, as usual, adddenz and Colberg to the strongholds to ing new conditions, this time specifying be held as guarantees. Frederick Wil- the holding of only three German cities, liam thereupon named his brother, and with that exception, immediate evac-

#### BRITISH INTERVENTION

In the first week of January, 1808, Prince William arrived in Paris, at the moment when Napoleon was facing difficulties in his Spanish campaign. The Prussian King's brother changed the Berlin offer, saying Berlin would accept Napoleon's plan if he would agree to an alliance, which, regarded as an astet to France, would be repaid by ending the limitation of Prussian military force, and by a reduction of 50,000,000 francs in the amount of the indemnity. During the discussion this aroused, it became apparent that diplomatic relations between France, Great Britain, Russia and Austria were becoming involved. It was at this period that Great Britain entered the diplomatic lists as a friend of Prussia against France, which soon resulted in a gradual but sure withdrawal of Prussian offers. By Jan. 27, 1808, when George Canning, the For-eign Secretary, at the opening of the British Parliament protested publicly against the French claims on Prussia, Frederick William appears to have made up his mind not to accept any sort of reparations settlement. He therefore had a note sent to Napoleon pointing



Heinrich Friedrich Karl Stein (1757-1831), the statesman who "laid the basis of Prussia's future greatness"

out that Prussia was in a state of economic prostration due to the burden of the army of occupation, French threats and other reasons. Napoleon retorted that if Prussia reduced her army to the specified total of 40,000 men she could spend on the occupying army what her additional troops were costing her. The Prussians came back with a proposal for an expert study of the financial reorganization of Prussia on the model of the French fiscal organization. In the face of Napoleon's determined attitude. Stein made a new proposal agreeing to pay reparations to the extent of 101. 000,000 francs, but on condition that Prussia be evacuated with the exception of Stettin, Glogau and Kustrin, which should be held by a force not larger than 9,000 men, and that the Grand Army of France should quit Prussia thirty days after the ratification of the agreement.

New conversations began at Bayonne in April, 1808, with Stein's project as the basis of discussion. The French delegates asked what guarantees Prussia would give for the payment of the debt. Stein's reply reads almost word for word as if it were one of the recent declarations of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the Director of the Reichsbank, to the Dawes committee: "The employment of means of credit, of economy or of increase of taxes supposes the re-establishment of confidence abroad, the free disposition of the revenues of the State, the end of a condition of affairs which has dried up the national riches and which would crush any Government; in a word, the evacuation by the French Army of the Prussian provinces it occu-It soon became evident that the Prussians did not really seek an agreement. During the conference Napoleon's troubles in Spain increased, and Austria, urged on by Great Britain, began to give indications of seeking a war with France. Hassel, the German historian, has stated that it was in the hope of such developments that the Prussians had followed the policy of postponing an agreement with Napoleon, avoiding at the same time an open rupture. Yet, in May, even at the time relations were becoming more strained with Austria,

the Prussians continued to offer Napoleon various projects of alliance. Stein's Memoirs record that this was camouflage to enable Prussia to prepare her revenge. Instructions sent by Frederick William to his brother, who was still in Paris, charged him to offer Napoleon a military alliance, but this time on the condition that he abandon his claim for reparations or reduce it to a nominal amount.

At this stage, with the French campaign in Spain going from bad to worse, Stein wrote a letter urging that Prussia drop her mask, ally herself with Austria and attack France. This letter fell into the hands of Napoleon. He thereupon served upon the Prussian King an ultimatum to accept his terms or France would make war on Prussia, and gave him two days to answer. On Sept. 8 Prince William signed the convention with the reservation that he regarded it incapable of execution. The attitude of the Prussians toward their signature was shown in a letter Stein wrote to his King on Oct. 12, saying: "It would be quite normal for your Majesty to sign this treaty with the intention of breaking it on the occasion of war between France and Austria. The most mighty and most important have the right to use hypocrisy and deceit against the wickedness and violences of their adversaries." Frederick William thereupon ratified the Erfurt Convention, which contained these two basic provisions: (1) Prussia to pay an indemnity of 120,000,000 francs in three years, half in cash, half in notes; (2) Prussia to reduce her army to 42,000 men for ten years, during which time there were to be no masked military preparations of any sort. There was a supplementary provision by which Prussia was to furnish Napoleon 16,000 men in case of war with Austria.

#### PAYMENTS ABANDONED

Frederick William, on the demand of Napoleon, dropped Stein as his chief Minister, replacing him by Allenstein. Prussia began to carry out the Erfurt



Prince Karl August von Hardenberg (1750-1822), who played an important part in the strengthening of the Prussian State

tions payments, but whereas Germany carried out the London plan payments for more than a year, Prussia fulfilled her contract for only six months. As soon as war between France and Austria appeared inevitable, Berlin began to declare it was beyond Prussia's capacity to continue payments unless she could get foreign loans, and on April 10, 1809, when war was declared between France and Austria, Prussia promptly ceased all payments, judging, of course, that Napoleon was too busy to bring force to bear. At this stage all Prussia. in common with the German States, which were technically allies of Napoleon, was filled with the spirit of revenge against France; the war of revenge was preached on all sides. Attacks on French soldiers and officers were of daily occurrence wherever the forces of occupation were to be found.

Napoleon rushed his campaign against Austria and on July 6 won his great victory at Wagram; six days later an armistice was signed, to be followed schedule, just as Germany more than a by the peace conference at Vienna. Becentury later accepted and began to fore the peace conference met Frederick carry out the London plan of repara- William appealed to Russia to unite her

forces with his for an attack against the victorious French armies, but the Russian Emperor remained faithful to his treaty with France and declined the Prussian invitation to break it. Napoleon, as soon as time permitted, turned again to Prussia with a demand that she resume the indemnity payments. The Prussians made the classic move of once again asking a reduction. This brought from the French Emperor the retort: "Prussia makes treaties but she fulfills them only with words. When one cannot pay, one does not sign; if one signs, one must pay. In any case, so long as I am not paid, I do not withdraw my troops. If the King of Prussia cannot pay, let him cede me a province." This brought Napoleon further notes discussing Prussia's inability to fulfill her obligations. Being occupied with the Vienna negotiations, Napoleon did not revert to the Prussian reparations problem until October, 1809, when he renewed his demand for a resumption of payments or the cession of a province. The Prussian King wrote a note to Paris setting forth Prussia's bad financial and economic condition, which he blamed largely on French occupation. To this Napoleon retorted that, if Prussia had not continued payments during the Franco-Austrian campaign, it was



Gerhard J. D. von Scharnhorst (1755-1813), the General who reorganized the Prussian Army in the years 1809-13

simply because she had counted on an Austrian victory to relieve her of her debt. He called the attention of Berlin to the reports of his agents that Prussia had military forces in excess of the 42,000 permitted by the convention of Erfurt, and laid down the following conditions: (1) During 1810 Prussia must pay 4,000,000 francs a month; (2) Prussia must turn over to France the 38,000,000 francs Berlin intended to raise by a loan in Holland. If these terms were not fulfilled Napoleon threatened to use force.

Berlin found no better reply than this: that such threats of the use of force would so ruin the credit of Prussia that she could borrow nothing to pay to France. The sister of the Queen of Prussia, the Princess of Thurn and Taxis, was sent as an envoy to Napoleon to depict the deplorable state of her ruined country. By her Napoleon sent back to Frederick William this message: "Pay me, or cede me Silesia." Prussia thereupon yielded and once more promised to meet her obligations, the formal decision being recorded at Berlin on March 17, 1810. The King got rid of Allenstein, with whom Napoleon had lost patience, and named as head of the Government Dr. von Hardenburg, who was given the mission to work out a plan to pay France without the cession of territory. The new Minister's plan reads much like similar plans drafted by Berlin since the war: there were to be increased taxes at home, loans raised abroad by the pledging of Government monopolies, with guarantees by Prussian banks, and so on. Hardenburg's plan was completed by October, 1810.

#### PRUSSIAN DUPLICITY

Politics, however, entered into this "business settlement." Napoleon's war against the British in Spain was going badly, and the increasing discord between France and Russia gave Frederick William a reason to abandon his plan to pay reparations, or rather led him to make another attempt to avoid paying. Berlin, therefore, began again to make Napoleon offers of an alliance in exchange for a reduction of Prussia's debt to France. Despite his promises, the

Prussian King began to build up a military machine far beyond treaty allotments, sending to Napoleon, who had many troubles on his hands, all sorts of excuses. At the same time that he was offering an alliance to Napoleon, Frederick William was treating with Russia for an alliance against France. Scharnhorst, whom Napoleon had had deposed as the chief of the Prussian Army, was reinstated for the avowed purpose of reconstituting an army which should take no account of Prussia's treaty obligations. On Oct. 17 a convention was signed between Prussia and Russia directed against France. About the same time a secret treaty was made with Great Britain providing for subsidies to Prussia in case of a war with France. Yet, in order to play the game of duplicity to its end, the King of Prussia continued his efforts for an alliance with France. and in February, 1812, there was signed a friendly agreement by which Prussia undertook once more to liquidate her debt of 1807. The pages of history show that Napoleon was frequently warned by his advisers of Prussia's insincerity, but either through doubt of the validity of these warnings or through supreme confidence in himself, he appears to have paid little attention to the rumors of Prussia's preparations for war against France, even while she was showering Napoleon with protestations of friendship.

Then came war between France and Russia. Napoleon's disastrous campaign in Russia left him in a deplorable situation in November, 1812, and immediately there sprang up throughout Prussia the shout that the time had come for German revenge. That the Prussian plan had been well prepared was shown when the Duke of York, who commanded the Prussian corps placed at the disposal of Napoleon in accordance with his convention with Prussia, surrendered his army to the Russians after only a show of resistance. Even at this stage Frederick William did not forget the reparations debt and indirect overtures were made to Napoleon to the effect that Prussia was open to proposals, but in



George Canning (1770-1827), who became British Foreign Secretary in 1807 and by his policy struck the first blow at Napoleon's power

army corps which he had surrendered to the Russians, and, acting without orders from Berlin, attacked the French on the Vistula. Stein, who had returned to Prussia from Russia, initiated and directed the revolt in Silesia against the French troops and then rushed to Breslau to make a military treaty with Russia for a war against France. Throughout Prussia the spirit of patriotism was at fever heat and volunteers flocked to the recruiting stations. Events followed one another with great rapidity. On Feb. 19, 1813, the reserves were called to the colors, compulsory service was reestablished, and in a few weeks the army of independence was formed. The inevitable war between Napoleon and the Prussian-Russian combination started. The French won the battles of Lützen and Bautzen, but Napoleon's need of troops obliged him to evacuate Prussia. The world knows well the story of the next two years, and how, finally, after Great Britain had joined his enemies, Napoleon was beaten at Waterloo in 1815. In six years Prussia had avoided the meanwhile Prussian nationalism payment of her reparations bill and had overran the King. York reformed the brought on her war of revenge. Between the French victory of 1807 and Waterloo eight years elapsed. It is now five and a half years after the allied victory of 1918. Will the parallel be completed?

#### STRIKING PARALLELS

We see that the period following 1807 was characterized by the fragility of the alliances Napoleon made with the smaller German States, by the constant duplicity of Prussia and by the diplomatic and political blows Great Britain struck at France. As to the payment of reparations, we see that each time France appeared weakened, Prussia declined to pay; each time France made a show of force, Prussia changed her When Napoleon had Prussia at his mercy he did not fix the amount of his reparations, but left that till later, trusting to his then flourishing fortunes to force Prussia to pay. When the Allies had mastered Germany they, too, did not fix reparations, postponing the matter in the hope that the power of allied unity would bring a settlement.

Since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles the Germans have played the same game their forefathers played after the Treaty of Tilsit. A sincere effort has never been made in Germany since poleon?

the armistice to pay reparations; after 1807 the Prussians never once showed a desire to pay. Just as, after 1807, the Prussians made at least a semblance of trying to pay only when Napoleon threatened to use force, so the German Republic has made new promises each time the French sabre has rattled, but only then. Stein's notes served von Simons as a model; Allenstein was copied by Cuno, and Stresemann found his style in the writings of von Hardenburg. The dates, the names, the amounts are different; the idea is unchanged—to avoid payment if it be possible.

A hundred years ago Prussia wrote friendly notes to Napoleon with one hand and wrote a treaty with Russia with the other. While alleging a desire for conciliation with France at Genoa, Germany signed a treaty of alliance with the Soviets. She played Great Britain against France and sought to profit by their quarrels a hundred years ago; and she is doing the same thing today. Eight years after defeat, a century ago, the Germans got their revenge at Waterloo; they would like to try again about eight years after their defeat in The Germans beat the French 1918. bill collectors the last time. Will Poincaré prove a better sheriff than Na-



### Problems of the Albanian Republic

By C. A. Tashko

Harvard graduate, Class of 1921; former private secretary to Archbishop Fan Noli, distinguished Albanian statesman, and for two years Acting Vice Consul for Albania in the United States

minor nations in Europe and chronicled in the press principally for its crimes, its banditry, its feuds, fights and sporadic rebellions against the Turk, has, since 1919, made such progress against tremendous odds. toward stability and civilization, as to arouse the wonder of those who had known the country before its liberation. This "land of barbarism" gradually came to be known as the land of a people primitive but picturesque, untamed but noble, illiterate but capable of immeasurable development; for this, thanks are due to the members of the American Red Cross, those missionaries of civilization, who served in Albania and returned here to tell, through newspapers, books, and conversation, of the hidden beauties of that distant land. As a result thousands of American and British tourists invaded Albania, to be instantly captivated by its hospitality, natural loveliness, and absence of internal disorders. This was a victory, hard-won and jealously guarded by the patriots of Albania, but now it has been turned to defeat. The murder of two Americans, Messrs. Robert L. Coleman and George B. de Long, on April 6, while traveling through the country, revives in the eyes of the world the "barbaric Albania" of yore; whether the crime was committed by political agents or by bandits, the bad effect on Albania's reputation remains the same.

This incident, however, brings up the whole question of the internal conditions prevailing in Albania today. The situation is inadequately understood beyond the country's boundaries. Though Albania is internationally stronger than ever before, her domestic status is far from favorable. The party system of this tiny State is decidedly personal:

LBANIA, least known of all the Tirana, the Toptanes: of the Beys of Elbason, Akif Pasha and Shefget Verllaci; of the Beys of Berati, Sami Vrioni and Ilias Vrioni; of the Bey of Mati, Ahmet Zogu; of the Bey of Argyrocastro, Mufid Libohova; then, on the other side, of Archbishop Fan Noli: of Luigi Gurakuqi, of Scutari; of Oazim Koculi, of Valona; and of Seyfi Vlamasi of Kortcha. The personal parties are superficial and temporary, the members uniting or fighting with one another according to the caprice and ambitions of the leaders. The general complexion of Albania's domestic battle has two positive, but as vet not clearly defined, shades: the interests of the landowners and the interests of the people. the latter being championed by the professional and intellectual class. Those named in the first part of the group above identified, form the land-owning class or the Conservatives, while those in the second part of the group form the Pople's Party.

The great landowners who constitute the backbone of the Conservative Party are all Beys, but all Beys are not landowners, for the majority of them are impoverished and have joined the popular movement. To say that the big landowners comprise the aristocracy of the country would be a grave mistake, since these Beys are as far removed from culture and art as any class could be; most of them, wealthy ones indeed, are actually illiterate. Their origin, moreover, is quite recent; the oldest quasi-feudal house is traceable no further back than the middle of the nineteenth century. Their power, though, has been considerable, since it is exercised by virtue of their vast property and of the prestige and privileges given them by Turkey during her domination.

The leaders of the popular movement one hears on one side of the Beys of accuse the landowners of holding vast

uncultivated areas of land which, leased but local personages. These two have on reasonable terms to the small farmers, would alleviate their dire condition; of paying no taxes; of confiscating State farms in time of turmoil; of treating the people as chattels; of checking any movement toward modernizing the country for fear that such might cost them their privileges; and, in short, terrorizing the country in a manner reminiscent of the Young Turks.

The leaders of the popular movement, on the other hand, are of the professional class-men who were graduated from European and American universities. Their supporters are, for the most part, Albanians who have lived in the United States. Americans may be surprised to hear that about 60 per cent. of the male adults of Southern Albania have visited the United States, at least once; in numerous cases 50 per cent. of the natives of the village are now in America and the remaining half is comprised of former residents of the United States. Albanians who have been in America are called "Americans" by the people. The political leaders of these "Americans" are two Harvard graduates: Archbishop Fan Noli and Faik Konitza; they are the only really national figures in Albania, the rest being the people of the south were dependent

also won distinction as the literary chiefs of the country. The Conservatives accuse the Popularists of not knowing the country and of having ideas too advanced for the Albanian people.

#### THE REACTIONARY ZOGU MINISTRY

Political evolution requires that conservatism should dominate the initial government of a country. Since the Congress of Lushnja, in January, 1920, when a makeshift constitution was framed, the great landed proprietors have been in power. longest Ministry was that of Ahmet Zogu, a man of thirty, of great intelligence and energy, but lacking in education and spoiled by excessive ambition. M. Zogu came into power on March 6. 1922, and went out of office on March 3, 1924. M. Zogu's only achievement was the maintenance of order which contributed so much toward winning the good-will of American and British tour-His administration, however, gradually alienated public opinion; arbitrary methods of government were employed; nothing was done to supply the people with work, though the population of the northeast was starving, and

> on the dollars sent home by the emigrants in America. M. Zogu did nothing to prevent the diseases which have spread, until, according to Government statistics, the death rate in Albania since September, 1923, has exceeded the birth rate by 30 to 100 per cent.; he discouraged the introduction of foreign capital on which the progress of the coun-



Street in Tirana, the capital of Albania



Albanian mountaineers forming part of the volunteer army of their country

try depends; he failed to reform the administration of the country, which is corrupt, incompetent and Turkish, former Turkish officials enjoying priority in the civil service; he denied adequate authority to the foreign advisers (M. Hunger, in Finance; Lieut. Col. Stirling, for the Interior; Signor Messinger, in Law: and Herr Reissler Pasha, for Publie Works). Forty per cent. of the public schools were closed by M. Zogu as a measure of economy; he failed to put the finances of the country on a sound basis, the State functionaries always being paid at least three months in arrears, while, according to M. Hunger, this year's budget will have a deficit of 9,000,000 gold francs, the country's budget being 20,000,000 gold francs.

The natural expectation, then, for the general elections held last December was a majority in favor of the leaders of the Popular movement. Albania, however, has manhood suffrage on a system of double election: the people vote for an electoral college, which in turn votes for the members of Parliament. In the first election, the people voted by a considerable majority in favor of the popular candidates, but the electoral college reversed the opin-

who, in Albania, where public opinion counts for little, can become all-powerful in a crisis. The dissensions among the leaders of the Popular group also contributed much to this defeat. Ahmet Zogu, however, was defeated, the Conservatives as a whole winning by a bare majority. Despite his defeat, Ahmet Zogu still failed to perceive how untenable his position was, and on Feb. 23 last an attempt was made on his life, subsequent to which the "Clique" intervened and compelled him to resign in favor of his father-in-law presumptive, Shefqet Bey Verllaci. The "Clique" is a political group consisting of the landed proprietors, former Turkish officials, the mountain chiefs who see themselves in the rôle of vassals to the landed proprietors, and some elements with economic interests.

#### NEW CABINET UNPOPULAR

The new Cabinet has been termed "Ahmet Zogu's Cabinet No. 2," by the Albanian public. Shefqet Verllaci is reputed the richest landowner in Albania. His Cabinet is generally thought to be decidedly unstable. The people expect nothing more from him than from his predecessor; moreover, the ion under pressure from those in power | Verllaci Ministry includes Mufid Bey Libohova who is hated throughout the country for his pro-Italian leanings when Albania was fighting the Italians, in the Summer of 1920. It is significant to note that the army and the gendarmerie are avowedly against the "Clique;" during the last Ministerial crisis they formally presented a request to Parliament for the composition of a Cabinet drawn exclusively from members who had not previously held ministerial offices. Shefqet Verllaci obtained a vote of confidence by 53 votes against 26, with 25 abstentions.

Other factors contribute to the increase of instability in Albania. The country has no real constitution, the present provisional machinery of Government being based on the "Statuto of Lushnja" of January, 1920. This "Statuto" submits the functions of the sovereign to a council of four regents: one Catholic, one Eastern Orthodox, one Sunni Moslem and one Bektashi Moslem; these are chosen by Parliament, which in turn is chosen by universal manhood suffrage on a system of double election. The powers of the regency are those of a strictly limited monarchy. The Ministry is responsible to Parliament. Tirana is the provisional capital. members of which are the disciples of The Albanians have so far shown scant the American Gospel of Liberty.

comprehension of the principles of parliamentary government. The late Parliament convened on April 21, 1921, and adjourned on Sept. 31, 1923; the members proved themselves incapable of anything but a scramble for Ministerial positions. The elections of last December were for a Constitutional Assembly, which would have eliminated the provisional status of affairs. The Assembly convened Jan. 21, 1924, and, in the months already passed, has done nothing but discuss possible future Ministerial combinations, the question of the Constitution being held of secondary importance. On March 2, 1924, the Assembly formally declared itself a Parliament, this step, it was said, being taken to cope with certain immediate, but unspecified demands.

Considering the condition of Albania prior to 1919, and the country's previous reputation of being incapable of self-government, it has, despite the present domestic muddle, made perceptible progress. The domestic difficulties are due directly to the fact that the clan and quasi-feudal social system is disintegrating, under pressure of the rising professional and intellectual class, the ablest



# ASSESSING THE BLAME FOR THE WORLD WAR

# A Symposium

May CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contained an article by Harry E. Barnes, Professor of Sociological History, Smith College, analyzing from the latest available records the relative responsibility of the different powers for the World War; the article was comprehensive, containing ninety-seven citations of official records, documents, treatises and histories by recognized authorities. Professor Barnes assayed the relative responsibility for the war as follows: Austria first, Russia second, France third, Germany fourth, England fifth.

The Editor of Current History Magazine submitted the article for review to a number of professors at leading American universities, choosing such scholars as heretofore had not committed themselves to any definite conclusions on this question in published works. The Editor had no information regarding the individual views entertained by any one of these professors. The list was selected primarily to embrace Professors of History at the chief American universities, all of whom are recognized as qualified experts, and in each instance their views were requested as "impartial historians."

# YALE UNIVERSITY

HE most important conclusions drawn by Professor Barnes, if I understand correctly his study of documents relating to the outbreak of the World War, are two. He believes that "the scapegoat theory of complete, sole and unique guilt on the part of Germany or any other single State can no longer be supported." In the second place, he is insistent that the disaster resulted not so much from the plans of any one power or group of powers, but rather from the existence in Europe of two armed camps, each suspicious of the other, impelled by fear quite as much as by motives of aggression.

With these two conclusions, which are by no means revolutionary, I am heartily in accord. No sober historian has ever believed that Germany was solely responsible for the war. All who have studied carefully the recently published documents reject the theory that the civil leaders in any country, with the possible exception of Austria, deliberately plotted the World War. Professor Barnes emphasizes the emptiness of this theory in the case of Germany; he might well, I think, have laid more stress upon the fact that the documents indicate a corresponding freedom from aggressive guilt in Russia and France, so far as the civilians are concerned. The poignancy of the tragedy of 1914 lies in the

rather lack of organization in Europe, and because of conflicting influences in their own Governments, were unable to give effect to their desires. Had it not been for the existence of the two hostile groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, the Austrian attack upon Serbia would not have led to the general war.

When Professor Barnes comes to assign relative responsibility to the different States, I find it more difficult to accept his conclusions. It is always a temptation for every American to grade in order of merit or demerit; the process is of value for track meets and necessary for undergraduate courses. Whether it is possible or valuable in history seems to me less certain. Thus most of us will agree with Professor Barnes that upon Berchtold and the clique that controlled him must rest the chief responsibility for the crisis of 1914 that led to the general war. But how much does this mean if, as he intimates, there existed other factors which may raise the question as to whether Austrian aggressiveness may not be interpreted as a defensive measure? Professor Barnes assigns less war guilt to Germany than to Russia. But this can be done only if we assume that the civil leaders, Bethmann and von Jagow, who desired peace, represented Germany, and the Russian militarists, rather than Sazonov, represented Russia. One cannot speak of "Germany" or "Russia" as fact that the responsible civil leaders in each political entities. There was anarchy in each State desired earnestly to avoid the general war, State, as well as in the international organizabut because of the diplomatic organization, or tion of Europe. While Bethmann was pressing

the button for peace Falkenhayn was taking sible to accept Mr. Barnes's statement that this steps that made war impossible to avoid. The available evidence shows that if Sukhomlinov felt that the moment had come for war, the Czar and Sazonov sought sincerely for peace. The indictment should be made not against the "Russia" or the "Germany" of 1914, but against the system which permitted the military group in each State to hamper the pacific efforts of the civil leaders.

If chief guilt is to be attributed to the system, then it seems to me that Professor Barnes has not considered with sufficient care the responsibility which German statesmen must carry for pointing the way to the system of alliances that led to the existence of two diplomatic groups standing face to face and the system of armed peace that led to the existence of militarist cliques in each State. "Deeper than any national guilt," says Professor Barnes, "is the responsibility of the wrong-headed and savage European system of nationalism, secret diplomacy and militarism which sprang into full bloom from 1870-1914." With this I agree fully, but I should assign to German leaders during this period not by any means all, but a major share of, responsibility for this system.

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### HARVARD UNIVERSITY

IT seems impossible for any fair-minded person who reads Br. Barnes's article and compares it with similar studies by Professors Fay, Schmitt and Gooch, to dissent from the unanimous opinion of these scholars that the responsibility for the World War must be divided between Germany and the Allies. This opinion would seem to be as fully accepted by qualified historians today as is the doctrine of evolution by scientists. After reading the story of duplicity, jealousy, dishonesty, selfishness and hypocrisy which marked the conduct of the European Foreign Offices in the weeks preceding the war, the conclusion is inevitable that the peoples of Europe would never have gone to war if they had been fully aware of the motives and the methods of their rulers. As far as the control of foreign affairs is concerned, the peoples of the world are still in the Dark Ages. And before this control can be democratized, the abolition of secret diplomacy is absolutely essential.

While accepting the main conclusion of Mr. Barnes's article, dissent may be made from certain particulars. It seems unlikely that France would have ever gone to war merely for the purpose of winning back Alsace-Lorraine from Germany. And whatever motives may have inspired the withdrawal of French troops ten kilometers from the German border, it is impos- war, which are rooted in peace-time policies,

was of "no military importance." Before the war the Allies had a combined annual capacity of 22,500,000 tons of iron, as against 21,500,000 for the Central Powers. But as a result of the French withdrawal and the German occupation of Belgium, great mines and factories fell into the hands of Germany which increased her iron capacity to 27,500,000 tons and decreased allied capacity to 16,500,000. The French withdrawal was almost a fatal blunder from which the Allies were saved only by the entrance of the United States into the war.

I cannot accept the conclusion that the reparation provisions of the treaty are based on the assumption that Germany was solely responsible for the war. Article 231 simply holds Germany responsible for causing the losses to the Allies, resulting from a war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany. While the Allies may have been as much to blame as Germany in the diplomatic negotiations leading up to the war, the fact remains that Germany actually invaded France and Belgium, devastating territory and committing crimes against the civilian populations from which the Germans at home were exempt. That the victors should exact compensation for the damage caused by the physical aggression of Germany was absolutely inevitable.

As Mr. Barnes points out, the real causes of the last war lay far back of the diplomatic negotiations of July, 1914. The designs of Russia on the Far and Middle East and on the Balkans, France's policy of the closed door in her colonies. the refusal of Russia and Japan to neutralize Manchuria, and Britain's refusal to internationalize the Bagdad railway as Germany originally suggested, show conclusively that the Allies were as much responsible for the fundamental conflicts of European diplomacy as the Central Powers.

Disillusioned as to the responsibility for the war, many people now spend their time in fulminating against the "wickedness" of the Allies. Such an attitude is worse than useless. The diplomatic notes leading to the outbreak of the war are now ancient history. The true indictment cannot be drawn against one power or group of powers, but against the old system into which every power had been drawn, and into which the United States may be drawn if it persists in a policy of "isolation." The true lesson to be drawn from this history is the absolute necessity of wiping out the old system by organized international cooperation-not the spasmodic, "unofficial," hide-and-seek, torpid "cooperation" to which the United States is now pledged, but a continuous, active and sympathetic endeavor of all nations to remove the causes of

to punish any nation which dares to take the law into her own hands in defiance of the organized sentiment of the world.

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# UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYL-VANIA

THE article by Professor Barnes on "Assessing the Blame for the World War" raises so many debatable questions that I am not willing, in the narrow limits here prescribed, to declare myself categorically for this or that phase of his study. The difficulty lies not only in the impossibility of securing adequate detachment in a problem so recent and still so tragically with us, and in the extreme complexity of the origins and causes of the World War, but also to a very large degree, with the evidence in the case. The very extent of the materials constitutes a problem of no small dimensions. But more serious still is the fact that, voluminous as the materials are, they are defective because England, France and Italy still keep the records of their pre-war diplomatic agreements and negotiations under lock and key. Till they are published or we are allowed access to them, our conclusions will necessarily be more or less provisional.

Notwithstanding this, however, I am convinced, from a considerable study of the new materials that are available, both in print and in the archives abroad, that many of the conventionally accepted views of the origins and antecedents of the war should be subjected to thorough revision. On this point the evidence is both adequate and conclusive. Professor Hart's statement that, "This tremendous question cannot be settled by Russian dispatches secretly copied by a subordinate in the Russian Embassy in London any more than by the published memoirs of the former Kaiser," is true, but when by implication it suggests that it is upon sources of this kind that Fay, Gooch, Pribram, Goos and now Barnes, base their studies, he gives an altogether erroneous and unfair impression.

The revision can now rest on precisely the kind of historical evidence upon which good histories of diplomacy depend. We have official and private documents such as have in the past been kept jealously secret for at least two generations after the events which have been made accessible through the changes in government in Russia, Austria and Germany. Treaties, conventions, instructions to diplomats, memoirs, reports, official and unofficial correspondence which will always furnish the substantial basis for the history of international relations, are now available. To these is being added a constantly

together with a firm and unequivocal declaration increasing body of autobiographical matter of an interesting though much more ephemeral character.

Upon the outbreak of the war the astonishing speed and strength of Germany's offensive quickly destroyed all faith in her claims that the war had been forced on her and that her diplomacy in the years leading up to the war had been directed toward the maintenance of peace. The violation of Belgium neutrality, the terrific onslaught on France, the ruthless warfare on land and sea followed by the arrogant and stupid diplomacy of the Central Powers all helped to create the belief in the war-guilt of Germany. Subsequent events, up to the entry of our country into the war, intensified this opinion. To modify or surrender in any way these strong convictions is disagreeable and, to most of us, disconcerting. Nor is it possible for the average person to dissociate the events of the war from those antecedent to Aug. 4, 1914. On the other hand objectivity and discrimination are the first requisites of the historian.

This does not mean, however, that we are to accept the particular revision Professor Barnes has made. The revelation of the extensive deception practiced by Russia in falsifying her official publication, the Orange Book, issued early in the war, has, it is true, discredited all the so-called "colored books," but they still remain as important evidence in the case. These, together with the new materials, are now so voluminous that there is and will be room for much difference of opinion. But revise and re-write we must. And if the powers most interested refuse to open their archives, we must make use of what is at hand without the corrective facts they would supply.

During a conference of historians in London in 1922, I heard the opinion pretty freely expressed that the publication of the secret war archives at Petrograd, Vienna and Berlin would ultimately lead to similar action at London and Paris, if for no other reason than that of selfdefense. Perhaps Ramsay MacDonald is holding this possibility as a trump card at this very moment. To throw open the archival secrets of the Foreign Office and of the Quai D'Orsav would in itself be an expression of confidence and good faith.

In the meantime it is the duty of historians not only to make full use of the available material, but to subject it to searching analysis, applying to it even more than the usual caution imposed by the canons of historical criticism. If the facts established by this method call for a revision favorable to Germany, it is also axiomatic with the historical fraternity that, provi-

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sionally, at least, they be accepted.

# PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

 ${
m B}^{
m EYOND}$  a very skillful use of new material, the main interest in the article by Professor Barnes lies, of course, in his attempt to clear Germany in a very large measure from the guilt of the World War. It is difficult to see how anybody but a German would be satisfied or convinced by this account.

In the first place, in the case of Austria, Russia and France, we are presented with much space, many arguments and a wealth of documentary facts, while Germany is treated more like one of the minor countries.

Much is said of the militaristic spirit rampant in most of Europe while we are led to infer that Germany was inhabited largely by pacifists. The imperialistic designs of the great nations are set forth in detail save in Germany. Nowhere are we told that Germany, since the Bismarckian era, was more and more bludgeoning her way to domination in Europe. Those who, as students, were in Germany in the seventies and who did not return there until after 1900 testify that the change in the spirit of Germany was as amazing as it was revolting.

The history of Europe since the development of nationalities has been a struggle to prevent one nation from dominating the rest. To that end even Popes made treaties with Protestants. Germany with her satellite, Austria, having raised her army to a pitch of pre-eminence and having built a navy which challenged the greatest, was, in the eyes of the world, perilously near achieving that position: Such a menace was Germany that nations, incompatible in aims and temperament and those bitterly hostile for ages, were driven into amity and alliance. Did Germany use her power for pacific ends? Outside of Germany the answer is well-nigh unanimous. What more brutal or unforgivable insult has been offered to a proud nation than Germany's demand that France should choose between war and Delcassé! What would this nation say if Japan demanded the resignation of an American Secretary of State?

Nowhere do we find any reference to Germany's wanton threat to England and to the peace of the world, by the upbuilding of her navy to a degree perfectly unnecessary, save for one and only one purpose. Of still greater significance was Germany's refusal to meet England for the purpose of limiting naval armament.

France needs no defense. To regain Alsace and Lorraine was the natural and national duty of patriotic Frenchmen. Let any American ask himself what his attitude would be if Mexico retook California and Texas and proceeded to act the brute as Germany did. If the above were true, most of us would be convinced that feelings of "revanche" were our Christian duty.

innocent and all-trustful dupe of the Machiaveslian machinations of Austria, few would agree. When Germany gave Austria carte blanche or July 5, war was practically declared by Germany The picture of that nation being dragged hopeless and helpless, prostrate but protesting, into war. will appear absurd to most. Only in the kingdom of the willful blind can the cart pull the horse.

After all what carried conviction to most neutrals, and still does, was and is the damning fact that at the eleventh hour, when Sir Edward Grey had succeeded in persuading the nations to agree to a Congress, a device which had prevented war in the past, it was Germany and Germany alone who refused. Thus Germany had in her hand the fate of the world. What the decision was is history.

The article gives the general impression of the clever marshaling of a large number of facts for a very definite purpose. It fails to convince. To call attention to the spots on the kettles does not remove the smut on the pot.

One emphatic dissent must be made against a perfectly gratuitous assumption. It is stated (p. 194) that "Probably the majority of competent students would assign Germany a position of fourth in the scale of the relative responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities." One would like to know where these remarkable statistics were found. Outside of Germany these "competent students" have not stood up and been counted. Evidently in this country one is a majority with the Teutonic Deity.

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## CORNELL UNIVERSITY

THE article by Professor Barnes in CURRENT HISTORY for May seems to me an admirable exposition of the immediate circumstances that led up to the war of 1914. We do not seriously disagree, I think, on any material point. If I hesitate to say that Austria was chiefly "responsible" for the war, it is not because I disagree with Professor Barnes on that point, but rather because the term "responsible for the war" means less than nothing unless it is very carefully qualified. Still, if any one insists in saying dogmatically "Germany was responsible for the war," I am willing to reply, "No, Austria was responsi-The latter statement is truer than the former, I think; but I also think that either statement has little to support it except a kind of subjective buoyancy.

Either statement is nonsense, for example, if it is taken to mean (as most readers are likely to take it) that the German people, or the Austrian people, were responsible for the war. The inveterate habit of personifying nations, of thinking of them as actuated by definite, conscious mo-With the attempt to picture Germany as the tives, which we can pronounce good or bad, is one of the most fruitful sources of confusion in themselves that it was their duty to wage war for political and historical writing. The notion is indeed a convenient one, especially in connection with a war like the last one; for it enables the people of each country to think of themselves as having been heroic defenders of right and justice against some or other gang of criminal conspirators. However convenient, the notion is nevertheless remote from reality; and while it serves to ease our consciences in respect to the last war, it does nothing (and less than nothing) to prevent the next one. Nothing seems to me more absurd than to say that "Germany (in the sense of the German nation) was responsible for the war," unless indeed it would be to say that "Austria (a hodge-podge of conflicting nations) was responsible for the war."

Of course Professor Barnes does not mean to say anything of the sort; he means to say, and does say, that the Austrian Government was more responsible than the German Government. That has at least some meaning. But I hesitate to say even that. Why not say the Serbian Government was responsible for the war, since, by accepting the Austrian ultimatum without reservation, it might have prevented the war? You will reply, "Ah, but the Serbian Government was justified in doing what it did." Thus the notion of "responsibility for the war" becomes at once transformed into a quite different notion-that of justifiable conduct on the part of sovereign States. What is justifiable conduct on the part of sovereign States? Heaven preserve me from answering a question which great men have vainly disputed for 2,000 years! A good case could be made, and has been made, for the idea that a sovereign State is justified in doing anything it thinks it expedient to do. A good case could be made, and has been made, for the idea that the systematic massacre called war is never

But in either case the Austrian Government was at least not less "responsible" than other Who was the Austrian Government? Was it Francis Joseph, or Berchtold? Berchtold was at least as responsible as any man, let us say. Shall we then lay the chief responsibility We may safely do that, since on Berchtold? he has no friends. But I confess that to make foolish fellows like Berchtold responsible for the sins of the world, seems to me to push the business of vicarious atonement rather far. 1 refuse to take politicians as seriously as all that. The juster view seems to be that politicians, not being responsible for their acts, should be treated for dementia instead of being punished for crime. Useless, at all events, to regard the Berchtolds and the Pichons as conscious and sinister conspirators. No more than other people did they undermine their self-respect by consciously engaging in evil practices. Their state of mind was the safety of their own countries, in order thereby to promote the welfare of the human race. The creature called Man is like that!

Can Berchtold and Company be held responsible (in any useful sense of the term) for the war which they did not foresee and did not intend. when they acted (however mistakenly in the event) from motives and with purposes approved as right and honorable in every country in the world? Professor Barnes evidently thinks not,

"But who will say that any of the other States, if placed in Austria's position, would not have done much as she did?" Oh, many people will say so, many patriots and good historians, honorable men all, will say so; and will continue to say so until the next war, which, like the last war, and like all previous wars will be unlike any previous war-including the last one! Sixty years after the French Revolution, Cobden wrote a long pamphlet proving that, contrary to the accepted opinion among his countrymen, England rather than France was "responsible" for the war of 1793. Every one who was already of Cobden's opinion judged his pamphlet to be a masterly performance. I am sure Professor Barnes's article will be as widely acclaimed in this country.

> CARL BECKER. PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

#### UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE facts which Professor Barnes summarizes on the basis of documents published since the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany are important and undoubtedly make necessary a reconsideration of conclusions based on previous evidence. It appears that Germany made much more genuine efforts to dissuade Austria from aggression against Serbia and that France and Russia were much less anxious to avoid war than people of allied countries have been accustomed to believe.

In an effort finally to allocate the relative responsibility of the powers, however, a definite agreement upon the meaning of responsibility seems to be necessary. The notion is an artificial one. dependent upon a particular ethical theory, if we speak of moral responsibility or upon a particular system of law, if we speak of legal responsibility.

So far as objective science is concerned, the term responsibility, as usually understood, has no meaning. Scientists deal with "correlation" or "causation," not with responsibility. As ordinarily used, the term responsibility implies activity by a free moral agent, but scientific method proceeds on the assumption of universal determinism, which ignores the existence of free moral agents. To determine by scientific method the that of honorable gentlemen, who convinced relative importance of the various events which

contributed during the past fifty years or more | acts prior to those which actually began the war to bringing on the World War is difficult if not impossible, because of their multiplicity and interrelations, their insusceptibility to quantitative measurement, and the lack of a similar situation for comparison.

We may, however, apply certain recognized tests of responsibility, first, that of international law. In the absence of express treaty, international law does not impose any liability for beginning a war. This was expressly recognized by the Peace Conference Committee on Responsibilities for the War (see Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 68th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Doc. 106, pp. 329, 330), but not by the peace treaty itself. (See Arts. 227 and 231 and Minnesota Law Review, vol-5, pp. 518, 537.) It does, however, furnish a simple rule for determining who begins it, namely, priority, not in diplomatic threats or in mobilization, but in declaration or act of war. By the latter is meant overt attack upon the territory or public forces of the enemy.

Furthermore, international law seems to hold such acts legally justifiable if undertaken (I) for self-defense in the presence of "an instant and overwhelming necessity," (2) to prevent an impending violation of a fundamental principle of international law, (3) in pursuance of an express treaty ratified by the State attacked. (See Hyde, International Law, vol. 1, pp. 106-133, vol. 2, pp. 195-201.)

This would make Austria primarily responsible for beginning the war through her declaration against Serbia on July 28, 1914. Any danger to her integrity arising from Serbian machinations was not of the immediate character described above. Germany would be next in responsibility through her declaration against Russía on Aug. 1 unless she could prove, as Gooch apparently believes she could (see CURRENT HISTORY, May, 1924, p. 187), that the Russian mobilization constituted "an instant and overwhelming" danger. Germany seems responsible for the war on the western front because of her invasion of Belgium on Aug. 2 prior to any act of war by Belgium or France and also in defiance of express treaty provisions.

It will doubtless be said that this test is purely formal and does not get at the real merits of the case. Yet it may be answered that the law was known to all and that if Austria and Germany had been as anxious as the Allies to avoid the appearance of responsibility, they could have waited until their prospective enemies had acted. Possibly if they had done so there would have been no war. At any rate, whatever strategic loss they might have suffered would have been outweighed by their moral gain.

To allocate moral responsibility for the war,

would have to be considered, but the significance to be attached to such acts would depend upon the ethical theory adopted.

The Peace Conference Committee on Responsibility for the War placed responsibility "wholly upon the powers which declared war in pursuance of a policy of aggression" and in view of the facts before them held that "the war was premeditated by the Central Powers together with their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, and was the result of acts deliberately committed in order to make it unavoidable." (Hearings, supra, pp. 316, 321.) The recently published documents, however, indicate that no belligerent really had such a policy. All of them were primarily interested in security, but, unfortunately, none of them knew how to get it.

If we modify this formula and attempt to allocate responsibility by answering the question: Which belligerent objected to war the least? I am inclined to think Professor Barnes has made a good case. Russia and France, as a matter of deliberate policy, seem to have been less anxious to avoid war than Germany.

On the other hand, we may judge by answering the question: Which belligerent, in view of the situation, used the information and diplomatic power at its disposal least effectively to prevent war? This criterion would resemble the standard of liability which, according to Dean Roscoe Pound, modern systems of private law tend to en-"The law," he writes, "enforces reasonforce. able expectations rising out of conduct, relations and situations," rather than willed consequences or declared intentions. (See Introduction to the Philosophy of Law, 1922.) With this oriterion, Germany would seem to have a very heavy real sponsibility. Austria and Russia were both out ing under high emotional tension, where rational conduct was hardly to be expected. Germany had the opportunity and the diplomatic power to prevent war by holding back Austria from the beginning. The Kaiser's telegram of July 6, however much he and his advisers may later have regretted it, seems to have been the impetus which set Austria on her fatal course. It is possible, that even after Austria had begun operations against Serbia, France might have restrained her ally, but I should judge from the evidence that Germany had more influence at Vienna than did France at Petrograd. It does not appear that England's diplomatic weight was of a character to have been effective in any case. Her responsibility arises, if at all, from conduct long before the crisis of 1914, the consequences of which could hardly have been realized. Belgium, I agree with Professor Barnes, gets a clean bill of health.

**OUINCY WRIGHT.** 

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## VASSAR COLLEGE

Tow far "the scapegoat theory of complete, sole and unique guilt on the part of Germany, or any other single State," in bringing on the World War can now be accepted is the question raised by Professor Barnes. He answers it by saying that, in view of the evidence in hand, this theory is no longer tenable. But the conclusion reached by him involves, in its turn, the question of the nature of the evidence used and the method of dealing with it. For in spite of opinions expressed to the contrary, it is the process rather than the product that is of supreme interest to the general reader, as well as to the student of history.<sup>1</sup>

The process of historical inquiry is very definite, especially so in the case of wars, and a knowledge of the canons that have been worked out is available to every one. They are based on the natural order in which the reports of wars are received by the public, and also in which they are given ultimate form.

The unofficial reports are the first to be received, and they include the letters of newspaper correspondents, the diaries of volunteer troops and the observations of the regular soldiers. Later, come the official reports, and these include telegrams of officers-one class written for public consumption, where the object is to conceal the truth, and another class, of much greater intrinsic value but labeled "confidential." Official dispatches follow. comprise reports to superior officers at home; but they must be taken with the traditional grain of salt, since the officer in command has sometimes been instructed to prepare two sets, one public use and one for Cabinet discussion. forms of official communications succeed in regular order.

The steps taken in dealing with this mass of material are also clearly recognized. The first form in which it is received by the public is that of the newspaper correspondence that appears as literature. This is later developed into magazine and review articles. The next stage is that of the monographs of serious scholars. Still later come the carefully prepared histories based on these monographs and on critical studies of source materials.

But it must not be forgotten that all these legitimate forms have been accompanied by the work of flying scouts who, from newspaper clip-

pings, have prepared with scissors and pastepots profusely illustrated "histories," with the object of "fanning a healthy spirit of patriotism." One such "History of the Great War, to be completed in five volumes," was offered for sale in the Spring of 1915. This type of pseudo-history, like the King, never dies.

This definite illustration of the process involved in the collection and treatment of the materials demanded for the history of war is applicable to the treatment of pre-war and postwar conditions. These often seem far more complex than do those of actual war itself. In the World War, especially, its international aspects have alled for particular consideration of all official documents, and political revolutions have made them already available. Corruption of the press in some countries and censorship of the press in all often discounted the reliability of the newspaper. The value of many of the personal records of the World War seems as yet largely negligible.

These and other classes of material have been analyzed by Professor Barnes. An examination of his method, and the testing of that method by the recognized canons of historical criticism, place him, in the opinion of the writer, in the front rank of historical students. The conclusions he reaches may give pain to many eminent personages, since they, like humbler folk, often "feel the pain of a new idea," and they may disconcert the upholders of Chauvinism; but the truth assuredly lies in the direction pointed out by Professor Barnes.

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In addition to the brilliant analysis of the causes of the World War, by Professor Barnes, those interested in the problem would do well to read the similar works by the other American and British scholars who have recently undertaken this same task, especially Professors Fay, Beard, Schmitt and Gooch. It will then be apparent that Professor Barnes and the others are in substantial agreement upon certain fundamental propositions:

1. No government and no responsible statesman in Europe—in distinction from certain military circles—willed or worked to bring about a general European war.

2. The fundamental causes of the war were: Rival alliances; competition for territory, economic concessions and prestige; mounting militarism; increased armaments, and international suspicion and fear.

3. The immediate cause was Austria's insistence upon waging war upon Serbia when it was recognized that the step might precipitate a general European conflict.

The main facts are reasonably clear. Before

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Apology is made for this general statement, but the evidence is sufficient to justify it to the mind of the writer, although it cannot be presented here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>See, e. g., A British Officer, "The Literature of the South African War" and "The Literature of the Russo-Japanese War," I.-II., American Historical Review, January, 1907, 12: 299-321; April, 1911, 16:508-528; July, 1911, 16:736-750. These articles are the basis of the summary given.

the World War all the great powers, not Ger- | about the regrettable friction between these counmany alone, were heaping up the powder which made the Europe of 1914 so dangerous. The Russians, in their almost constant efforts to various factors contributed in varying degrees to dominate the Balkans and control the Straits. and the French, in their seizure of Morocco, were threatening the status quo and adding to the accumulation of international explosive. When the Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated by Austrian Serbs, the German Government agreed to support Austria in any measures it deemed necessary to take, believing that Russia would keep hands off; Austria determined to force a war upon Serbia; Germany attempted at first to "localize the conflict" by inducing other powers not to interfere; later, when a general war was imminent, the German Chancellor and Foreign Office, July 27 to Aug. 1, made earnest efforts to restrain Vienna, although they would not accept the British proposal for mediation; at the same time, however, the German General Staff, as we now know from General Hötzendorf's "Aus meiner Deinstzeit." was exciting Austria to war: as the crisis increased, the control in Germany and Russia passed into the hands of the soldiers; "the military timetable," as Mr. Philip Kerr expressed it at Williamstown, precipitated the world conflict, and the two great alliances, unwillingly, as Lloyd George has said, "staggered and stumbled" into war.

A correct analysis of the causes of the World War is important not only in the interest of historical accuracy, but even more in order to diagnose correctly the present international malady in Europe and to prescribe adequate national and international remedies. The history of the origin of the war proves that peace cannot be maintained permanently by rival alliances and competitive armaments, and that the world's necessary task today is to develop agencies of adequate international cooperation.

The fact that Germany does not bear sole guilt for starting the world conflict can scarcely affect the justice of America's entrance into the war three years later. The United States took up arms against Germany because of what Germany did after the war began. In 1914, August and September, President Wilson was insistent upon absolute neutrality and Mr. Roosevelt was unwilling to suggest any other course.

While there is general agreement among the recent critics that the war guilt does not rest entirely upon any single nation or group of policy, III., p. 486.

2"Germany did not will the war. \* \* \* In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any responsibility resting upon each of them. This divergence in judgment is due to the different evaluation of the same historical facts, just as there exists today a divergence in judgment among American scholars as to the relative responsibility of England and France in bringing

Policy, III., p. 486.

2"Germany did not will the war. \* \* In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any way relieve Germany of the main responsibility. New Jeiley Germany of the war responsibility. New Jeiley Germany of the war responsibility. New Jeiley Germany did not will the war. \* \* In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any way relieve Germany of the main responsibility. New Jeiley Germany did not will the war. \* \* In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any way relieve Germany of the main responsibility. New Jeiley Germany did not will the war. \* \* In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any way relieve Germany of the war responsibility. New Jeiley Germany did not will the war. \* \* In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any way relieve Germany of the war responsibility. New Jeiley Germany did not will the war. \* \* In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any way relieve Germany of the war responsibility. New Jeiley Germany did not will the war. \* \* In a wider sense, however, these new documents do not in any way relieve Germany of the main responsibility. New Jeiley Germany do flee way relieve Germany of the war. \* The World war, American Historical Review, October, 1920, p. 52.

\* "It was the refusal of Germany to follow this lead (Grey's mediation proposal), before the digital the war." The World war, American Historical Review, October, 1920, p. 52.

\* "It was the refusal of Germany to follow this lead (Grey's mediation proposal), before the digital the war." The war the war. The war the war." The war the w nations, there is, however, considerable diver-

tries during the past four years.

As to the decade or so before the war, although make the international situation dangerous, Professor Fay believes that one of the most important was the spirit of militarism, "and for the growth of militarism in Europe," he says, "no country was so much responsible as Germany." This estimate was doubtless held by the majority of Americans who lived or studied in Germany before the war. As to the immediate outbreak of the war, while some of the recent scholars emphasize the responsibility of Russia, because of her mobilization, and of France, because of Poincaré's aggressive pre-war policy, Professors Gooch<sup>1</sup>, Fay<sup>2</sup> and Schmitt<sup>3</sup> still maintain that Germany, with, or next to, Austria, bears the largest part of the general guilt.

But into this phase of the issue, in this brief review, it is not possible to enter.

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PROFESSOR BARNES'S article is seriously misleading and, like numerous other articles of the same sort now being put before the American public, is likely to exercise an unfortunate influence.

Let there be no misunderstanding about my position. I do not wish, out of patriotic or any other motives, to suppress or extenuate disagreeable truths. I believe that the truth should always be told in regard to history, whatever the consequences. The great evil in the article by Professor Barnes is that it gives a distorted and erroneous impression in regard to the origin of the war, and in doing so is likely to contribute not a little to encourage the Germans to believe themselves a bitterly wronged people; and at the same time to deprive the families of those who fell while fighting against Germany of the consoling belief that their sacrifices were made for a worthy cause, putting in its place the heartbreaking fear that their loved ones were the victims of foolish and selfish national ambitions.

In another recently published article Professor Barnes has acknowledged that during the war he

<sup>1&</sup>quot;By encouraging Austria to take action which was almost certain to plunge Europe into war, the German Government incurred a share in the gullt of the catastrophe scarcely less than that of Austria herself," The Cambridge History of Modern British Policy III p. 486 Policy, III., p. 486.

fell into the war hysteria to such an extent that he collaborated in the preparation of a historical manual which distorted history against the Germans. It seems to me that now he has fallen a victim to the hysteria of the reaction against the war, which is raging as virulently in certain quarters as ever the war hysteria raged anywhere.

It is impossible in the few words I am permitted to write to refute or even make a list of the numerous instances in which it seems to me that Professor Barnes has misinterpreted the testimony he cites, or disregarded the well-established rules of evidence, or produced an erroneous impression by the omission of material facts. It is possible only to say that a close and critical reading of his article will show that several of the capital points of his thesis are refuted by the admissions he is obliged to make so that he may not lay himself open too much to the charge of unfairness. It is much to be feared, however, that for most of his readers the significance of these admissions will be lost, since they are usually dropped into the footnotes and half smothered among the titles of books cited or are put in the text in a very few lines, and only after the view which Professor Barnes wishes to have accepted has been set forth at length. Considerable knowledge of the whole subject under discussion is also necessary for an understanding of the real significance of these admissions. In general I agree with the comment made by Professor Hart. I would put in even stronger terms my dissent from Professor Barnes's estimate of the rôle played by France. It shows either a strong anti-French bias or an amazing failure to understand the French.

The whole problem of the origin of the World War is at once highly complicated and relatively simple. In one sense it can be satisfactorily elucidated only by a very long and detailed discussion. In another sense the essence of the matter can be put into a few words.

As with all great wars, there were deep underlying causes going back many years and having an almost infinite number of ramifications. Responsibility in these matters was widely distributed, and there is room for much difference of opinion as to the share which fairly belongs to each of the great powers. The war, however, was not inevitable. It came because of what was done between July 23 and Aug. 1, 1914. guilt or innocence of each of the great powers in that period must be determined chiefly by the answers which the evidence shows ought to be made to the following seven questions:

1. Was Austria, with the consent of Germany, warranted in sending to Serbia an ultimatum which was bound to produce war or inflict on Russia a humiliation which it could be expected to endure only if afraid to

go to war?

2. Was Austria justified, two days later, in refusing to accept, even as the basis for negotiation, the surprisingly compliant answer of Serbia and in breaking off diplomatic relations?
3. Was Austria justified, after an interval

of only three days and while the other great powers were trying in frantic haste to devise some means of preserving peace, in declaring war against Serbia?

4. Was Germany warranted in asserting that a war of that sort was an affair that concerned Austria and Serbia alone, and in refusing as she did, until it was too late, to lend any effective support to the efforts of Sir Edward Grey to bring about a mediation by the four less interested powers?

5. Did Germany during those critical days, when there was still a chance that peace might be preserved, exert as prompt and as strong pressure in favor of peace at Vienna as might reasonably be expected?

6. Was Russia justified in ordering a general mobilization on July 30?

7. Was Germany justified in immediately declaring war on Russia when Russia refused to stop this mobilization?

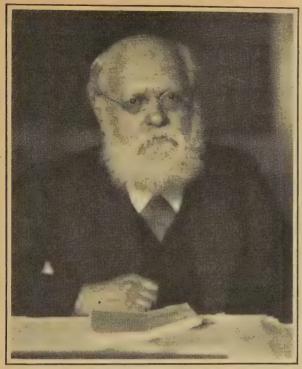
All but one of these, the sixth, has to do with some action or failure to act on the part of Germany or Austria or both. On all six of them the answer, I believe, if the evidence is fairly weighed, must be against the Central Powers. If Russia was at fault in ordering a general mobilization on July 30-and there is room for much difference of opinion on that point-it seems to me absurd to lay on her for that act all the blame for the war, as the Germans generally do. or even a larger share than on Germany, as Professor Barnes does. Her action must be viewed in the light of the earlier and unjustified acts of both Austria and Germany. Even on the assumption that Russia was grievously at fault in ordering her mobilization, if Germany really desired to preserve the peace there was no necessity for an immediate declaration of war against Russia. Mobilization alone would have sufficed to protect both herself and her ally against any irreparable damage from a possible Russian attack.

In the light of these considerations I hold that responsibility for the outbreak of the war rests almost altogether upon the Central Powers. The evidence which has come out since 1918 shows that the apportionment of the blame as between Germany and Austria was not precisely that which was supposed in 1914, but it does not remove any considerable measure of responsibility from them and transfer it to Russia and France.

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N his article on "Assessing the Blame for the World War" in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY Professor Harry Elmer Barnes does me the honor of quoting so extensively from a recent article of mine that it may seem ungracious to enter into controversy with him. But in view of his statement that "a critical reading" of his article before publication by Professor Langer and myself had "aided much to the general interpretation" and saved him "from many slips in matters of detail," in view of the editor's note



KARL KAUTSKY The German Socialist and scholar who has edited and published many important documents that were kept in the archives of the ex-Kaiser's Government

that Professor Barnes's opinions are "his personal, conclusions reached in collaboration with American historians," the impression may be left that those persons who have had the pleasure of working or corresponding with Professor Barnes accept his conclusions. Speaking for myself only, I feel called upon to say that I believe several of Professor Barnes's interpretations to be inaccurate, and that I dissent from some of his judgments.

First, as to the points of detail. With regard to the annexation of Bosnia by Austria in 1908, he argues that "the pressure which she (Germany) applied to Russia was very slight" (p. 178, column 1), his authority being a remark of an official in the Russian Foreign Office, which is taken from the apologia of Jagow, later German Foreign Minister, that really Germany had rendered a great service to Russia. But Schoen, who was German Foreign Minister at the time, although he did not write the note sent to Russia, being ill at the moment, declares that the language used was "very forcible" (Schoen, Erlebtes, p. 79), and the published text of the note confirms this view. For Germany informed Russia that if the latter continued to oppose the annexation Germany would "let things take their course." The point of the remark was that Aus- | not conceal his antipathy for Russian ambitions

tria had by that time decided to declare war on Serbia unless the annexation was unconditionally recognized; so that Russia was called upon to yield or to allow Serbia to be invaded. To call this "very slight" pressure is, I submit, to give to words a meaning that they do not usually have.

In the discussion of the crisis of July, 1914, Professor Barnes says that "Russia was determined upon war" from July 29 on (p. 183, column 1), and that "nothing but a complete repudiation by Austria of her demands upon Serbia could have held the Russians in check" (p. 186, note 62). In my opinion, both statements are too strong. I think that the first requires this qualification: "Unless Austria was willing to make some concessions about Serbia." It is clear enough that the Russian general staff regarded war as inevitable, but Sazonov's telegram No. 1592, of July 31, expressing his "satisfaction" that Austria had at last agreed to "enter into an exchange of views regarding the contents of the ultimatum to Serbia" and proposing that the negotiations be conducted in London under the direction of Grey, would seem to show that the Russian Foreign Minister was not committed to war. Professor Barnes's own remark that "Sazonov's part in urging the Czar to

order general mobilization may be explained on the ground that he believed that it would frighten Austria into a resumption of conversations" (7. 186, note 58) is, to my mind, the correct interpretation of the situation. Apparently, though the matter is unfortunately not very clear, the mobilization had precisely that effect, and therefore had to be maintained until the conversation's with Austria had produced satisfactory results. For Professor Barnes's second statement that Russia would require Austria to forego all her demands on Serbia, there is not, so far as I am aware, any evidence. On the contrary, Sazonov recognized that Austria was entitled to some satisfaction from Serbia, and was ready to negotiate on the basis of the Serbian reply, which had accepted most of the points of the ultimatum.

My disagreement with Professor Barnes is not so much about points of detail, important as they are, for the complexity of the evidence makes legitimate differences of opinion unavoidable, as with his attitude toward the Balkan ambitions of the rival powers. Although he says in one place (p. 185, column 2) that "it is difficult to understand how any fair-minded historian can fail to see why Russia felt justified in contemplating forcible intervention against Austria," yet he does

considers to have been "not wholly defensible and commendable" (p. 187, column 2). Agreed, and even stronger language would be merited. But what of German and Austrian ambitions? Professor Barnes speaks of "an Austro-German hegemony in the Balkans as the first link in the Berlin-to-Bagdad railroad scheme" (p. 175, column 1), but nowhere does he condemn such a hegemony, and the reader is likely to get the impression that all Austria desired was the maintenance of her integrity against Serbian intrigues; which, as I have tried to show in my own article, was hardly the case. What difference was there between the Russian plan to control the Balkans and open the Straits and the Austro-German Berlin-to-Bagdad vision? Surely, each was equally dangerous to the peace of Europe. Probably Professor Barnes will agree with this, but he does not say so and, without intending to do so, comes perilously near conveying the opposite impression. No more, in his analysis of the Austro-Serbian quarrel, does he refer to the legitimate grievances of the Serbs against their mighty neighbor, to the "pig war," the use of forged documents to incriminate Serbia, or the Prochaska incident of 1912. I hold no brief for the Serbs, whose conduct was often irritating in the extreme, but Austria herself had much to answer for.

Similarly, when we turn to the examination of Franco-German relations, we find all the emphasis upon revanche, French preparations for war, French incitement of Russia. My own opinion is that Professor Barnes's interpretation of the Russian documents which reveal French policy is in some cases exaggerated, but that is one of the matters about which students of the evidence are bound to disagree. What I miss is some account of the German threat of war in the Spring of 1905, the Casablanca incident of 1908, Agadir (1911), or the language of the German press in 1913. I am not defending the policy of France in Morocco, for it savored of rank imperialism; but the German objections to it were dictated by the determination that France should

in the Balkans and at Constantinople, which he considers to have been "not wholly defensible and commendable" (p. 187, column 2). Agreed, and even stronger language would be merited. But what of German and Austrian ambitions? Professor Barnes speaks of "an Austro-German horseway in the Balkans as the first link in the Germany, is, I believe, much overdrawn.

In his final paragraph Professor Barnes says: "None of the Entente States can make too much capital out of the free hand given to Austria by Germany. This was exactly what France really extended to Russia in 1912" (p. 194, column 2). The latter sentence is much qualified by Professor Barnes himself on p. 184, column 1. I should prefer to put the thought a little differently. If it was proper for Germany to support Austria in her Balkan policy, in which "she was naturally encouraged by her ally" (p. 175, column 1), why was it improper for France to support Russia? The Austro-German and the Franco-Russian alliances were engaged in a desperate struggle for ascendency in Europe, which would be determined by the alignment of the Balkan States, and I cannot see that it was any more dangerous or provocative for France to aid and abet Russia than it was for Germany to stand by Austria. What was wrong was the alliance system rather than the bellicose ambitions of a particular power.

Finally, I am not willing to "assign the relative responsibilities for the outbreak of hostilities in about the following order: Austria, Russia, France, Germany and England" (p. 194, column 2). Austria would come first by all means. But why? Only because of the promise of German support, which Berlin did not withdraw until Russia, to compel Austria to negotiate, had mobilized. Therefore I should put Germany second in the list. Probably Russia would not have mobilized without assurances from France: so they tie for third place. And England last of all, though her refusal to commit herself probably encouraged each of the rival Continental groups.

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# Mexican Progress Under President Obregon

By SEALTIEL L. ALATRISTE

President Mexican Chamber of Commerce of the United States and Commercial Agent of Mexico in New York

THE wane of the civil war in Mexico, which since the beginning of Winter has engrossed the Administration of President Obregon, permits the turning of attention now to the nation's internal development. Defeat after defeat has met the rebels, led by Adolfo de la Huerta, since the Federal troops recaptured Vera Cruz in February; in a recent interview President Obregon declared the end to be a matter of weeks.

Cessation of hostilities will enable the Administration to resume pursuit of its capital ambition: to wit, the perfection of the moral, intellectual and industrial activities of the country. This program, repeatedly emphasized by the President, will be taken up with new energy. Though the war has seriously retarded all efforts along this line, it has not been without benefit to the Government's plan. President Obregon's position is stronger, both at home and abroad: there is a deeper confidence in the Administration and its aspirations for Mexico.

All this promises well for the country's new hopes. The greatest advance that can now come to Mexico must come from within. We are striving through comprehensive organization to develop the vast resources of the country for the benefit of all, from laborers up; to educate the people and to raise their standard of living by providing equal chances for individual development.

We are organizing the people in every walk of life, in every industry and profession. Here in the United States, where organization is the foundation of

matter of course. But in Mexico the very lack of organization in former years has emphasized the present need. Not long ago representatives of ten thousand Catholic women met in Mexico City to consider problems of religious and ethical work. It would have been impossible, under the old régime, to have gained an expression of opinion or preference from so large an assemblage of women. The workingmen, the industrials, the merchants, the office employes, the small as well as large landowners, the urban realty owners, the tenants, the intellectual classeslawyers, teachers, engineers, students, and women in various pursuits—all these are being more or less organized so that they may discuss their own problems and reach definite conclusions.

New opportunities are stimulating greater initiative in all directions. Business has improved. The average Mexican is gaining a new outlook on life. A better understanding of the nature of the fundamental changes sought will be gained by considering some of the great problems we had to face in the work of reorganization. The immediate needs after the inauguration of the present régime were:

- (1) Peace founded on the effective application of the high principles proclaimed by our Constitution of 1917, rather than on the forceful imposition of a group of men. With the end of the rapidly dwindling revolution, peace and safety will once more be an accomplished fact.
- (2) The rapid and efficient organization of the economic forces of the national life, one looks upon it as a country; the fostering of production,



International

President Obregon of Mexico' photographed during a tour of inspection of his forces which suppressed the rebellion initiated by Adolfo de la Huerta

industry and commerce to compensate for the unhelpful mood of a world perhaps too busy with its own affairs, and, in a few particular instances, somewhat unsympathetic toward the transformation that was taking place in Mexico. It was absolutely necessary to preserve by our own efforts the economic life of the nation. This has been achieved, to the astonishment of leading economists conversant with the Mexican situation.

(3) The adjustment of our domestic and foreign obligations, which was possible only by the whole country re-

sponding to the constructive stimulus of the Administration. The agreement entered into by de la Huerta when he was Secretary of Finance of Mexico, and the committee of international bankers representing the Mexican bondholders, is already well known.

(4) A vigorous and systematic campaign to educate, enlighten and uplift the lower classes, an effort in which great strides have been made.

Many minor problems had to be worked out while striving for these fundamentals. The political problems, the enforcement of the people's will as expressed in the Constitution of 1917 (some of the provisions of which, although in accord with the general trend of social progress, are novel in a document of that character) encountered serious opposition among the conservatives in the interior, as well as among certain powerful interests. Neverthelss, the great majority of the Mexican people found the Constitution their most cherished possession; so high, indeed, is their regard for the document that they oppose amendment of it to extend the executive term even of their esteemed President Obregon.

The Mexican Republic derives a large part of its income from the exportation of raw materials and products. The Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor is charged with the responsibility of protecting and fostering this source of revenue. Steps were freely taken by this department not only to help and protect industry and commerce within the country, but to advertise and seek markets for Mexican products throughout the world. This was done in cooperation with our consular and diplomatic service. Trade

Commissioners were sent to the princi- for each Mexican dollar. In 1922 Mexpal foreign countries. An elaborate foreign commercial service was created to aid foreign business men and Mexican merchants, producers and exporters. It 000 worth of merchandise, against \$119,established offices in the largest cities of the United States, Europe and South America, and is now extending them to Asia. In the years 1919-23 we have taken part in more commercial and industrial exhibitions and conventions than in any similar period in our history.

#### INCREASED FOREIGN TRADE

The foreign commerce of Mexico during the premier year under the old régime, 1910-11, amounted to 499,600,-000 Mexican pesos (one peso equals 50 cents American currency). In 1921 it reached 1.236,301.252 pesos, nearly three times as much. In 1922, a crucial year comparable to 1920 in the United States, the total foreign commerce of the republic amounted to 1,169,741,600 pesos. Even if we take from these figures the 482,000,000 and 679,000,000 pesos of oil export values for the years 1921 and 1922, respectively, we can readily see what tremendous strides have been made by Mexico in regaining her previous commercial position in the world. Compare these two years with 1913, when an almost negligible figure represented our commerce, or with 1915, when it amounted to but 303,000,000 pesos of depreciated paper currency, sometimes as low as 1 cent (gold value) logical surveys one of the largest pools

ico imported more automobiles than all South America combined. During that year we sent to this country \$132,000. 000,000 in 1921, a gain of \$13,000,000; while our imports dropped from \$222,-000,000 in 1921 to \$110,000,000 in 1922, leaving a substantial balance of trade in our favor. At the same time our exports of gold and silver to the United States rose from \$46,800,000 to \$54,400,000.

Mineral production for January, 1923, reached over \$18,800,000. In the same month of the previous year it amounted to a little over \$12,500,000. although only 20 per cent. of the 23,000 registered mining properties in the country were actually being worked. We have already regained our position as the largest producers of silver in the world, and the Government is increasing facilities so that still more mines may be operated.

The oil industry is thriving, notwithstanding statements to the contrary. In 1922 we produced over 185,000,000 barrels. This was the largest production we have ever had excepting that of 1921, keeping our place second only to the United States, which has a much older industry, covering a larger area. There are nineteen large refineries now in operation. The Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor has just announced that as a result of recent geo-



as yet discovered has been located in a new field embracing some 1,400,000 acres near the City of Cordova, in the State of Vera Cruz.

Manufacturing and other industries are now doing fairly well. The 139 cotton-spinning and cotton-weaving factories, with a working capital of about 82,000,000 pesos, produced in 1922 about 400,000,000 yards of cloth and nearly 2,000,000 pounds of knitted goods. The sales amounted close to 100,000,000 pesos. Over 40,000 workmen were thus employed.

In the industrial districts wages have risen from a range of 37 cents to 50 cents a day to approximately \$1.50 to \$3. The improvement in wages is probably most marked in the cotton mills. In the agricultural districts the change

is not so pronounced.

The reports dealing with agricultural crops are most favorable. A good harvest is hoped for this year which would, of course, improve the internal situation and eliminate large items of food imports, for which machinery and other investment purchases would probably be substituted. When attained this result will justify the agrarian policy of Mexico from an economic standpoint. Let it be noted that we cultivate only 4½ per cent. of the arable land in the country, and that mostly in a primitive way.

The improvement already brought about in the public finances can be best shown by the comparison of a few fig-

ures:

Total Income (in Gold Pesos).
1910-11 98,832,500 113,488,724
1921 279,832,900 258,312,774
1922 277,567,019 267,137,468

The policy of reducing Government expenses is bearing even better fruit. Despite the de la Huerta revolt and the heavy inroads upon the Treasury necessary to combat it, foreign obligations are being met by President Obregon. Last February the Government resumed its transfer of funds to New York to provide for interest payment on the reorganized Mexican debt, pursuant to the de la Huerta-Lamont agreement. This has been made possible by a policy of strict departmental economy, which in

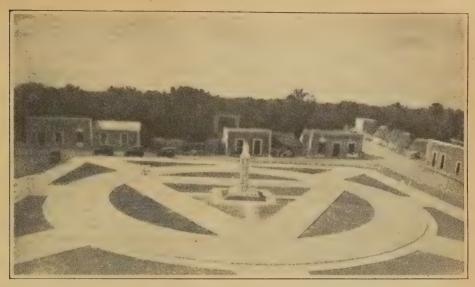
some cases included sharp reductions in the number of Federal employes. Increases have been granted, however, for such constructive work as that of the Departments of Education, Public Health, and Industry and Commerce.

#### IMPROVED RAILROAD SYSTEM

The Mexican railway system has long been in a very deplorable condition. Reorganization and reconstruction have been undertaken under the new régime. Most of the system is controlled by the Government through the ownership of 51 per cent. of its capital stock. At present the railroads are giving satisfactory service to the whole country. The roadbed has been put in fine condition, large numbers of modern engines have been acquired, freight and passenger cars reconstructed and purchased, stations and other buildings erected, and the general efficiency of the employes raised.

The efficiency of the Mexican railway employes deserves mention. During the Administration of Benito Juarez the first concession was given to build a line from Mexico City to Vera Cruz. From then until 1916 about 20,000 miles of railroad were built in Mexico. In 1907 the Government decided to reorganize the railroads, taking a 51 per cent. interest in the stock and guaranteeing interest on the bonds. One of the clauses in the enabling act provided that the percentage of Mexican train dispatchers, conductors, engineers and others in responsible positions should be substantially increased. This meant that eventually a large number of foreign employes would, upon the expiration of their contracts, be replaced by Mexicans. The law created great indignation among the foreign railway workers in Mexico. They struck. Every foreigner stopped work, believing, no doubt, that the whole system would collapse. The Mexicans who hitherto had been debarred from the higher type of railroad work by union regulations stepped in. In two months the entire system was operated by Mexican workers, and with very few accidents.

One of the largest privately managed



The main square of the Village of Kanasin in Yucatan, the State in which some of the most interesting social reforms have been brought about in Mexico

railroads, the Southern Pacific of Mex- and depositors. Its operation will be ico, is already being extended so that its trunk line will connect the central with the western railroad systems of Mexico and also with Los Angeles and San Francisco. Further, the Government is building a railroad in Lower California, rich in iron and copper. This line, in time, will be the backbone of the industrial and commercial development of the peninsula.

The credit and banking system of Mexico has withstood the severest ordeal possible, and the outlook is now most encouraging. The Government has followed a cautious policy in regard to financial institutions, so that only a very few banks have absolutely failed. Others are in the process of liquidation or reorganization. Most important is the new bank of issue, which is to combine the interests of old banking institutions with the governmental backing accorded by the Constitution. Although, technically, the Government will have control of the bank through the ownership of the larger part of its working capital, it is expected that the actual management of its affairs will be in the hands of experienced bankers and business men, representing the stockholders ing proper attention to mechanical and

along lines somewhat similar to those of the central banks of issue of the European and South American type.

The great problem of popular education is now being energetically worked out. The Constitution in 1917 failed at the outset to provide adequately for a system by which the efforts and resources of the Federal Government could be co-ordinated and combined with those of the State and local Governments, but amendments were subsequently adopted to permit of the development of a broad system of education. The major objects which we set before ourselves in establishing this system were these:

To eradicate the illiteracy of the lower adult classes, including the Indian population. Not long ago it was. estimated that about 85 per cent. of our population was illiterate.

To provide enough schools to put into effect the principle of compulsory education for children.

To transform the radically wrong system of making intellectual development the only goal of education by givculture.

To provide means for the self-improvement of the adult population whose early education was incomplete, principally by providing facilities by which they can attain greater proficiency in their daily occupations, and, as a corollary, to provide a preparatory education that will effectively equip young people for the practical duties of life.

To modernize and enlarge college facilities.

To make professional studies more selective, so that young men who, after years of study are often unfit for a professional career, may be able to earn a livelihood in some other direction.

#### FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY

Only those who are acquainted with Mexico's internal affairs can appreciate what has already been accomplished in the field of education. Under the leadership of José Vasconcelos, Minister of Public Education, there has been organized a legion of honorary teachers, in which more than 10,000 non-professional instructors are enrolled. members are teaching illiterate adults how to read and write. Often this teaching is done at night, for the people work during the day. Outside the regular schools, in the years 1921-22, about 1,000,000 adults have been taught to read and write. The amateur teachers, whose number is steadily increasing, receive rewards in proportion to the number of persons they instruct. Migratory salaried teachers in the cities are giving four-month courses in reading and writing to classes of about thirty-five adults. "Cultural centres," also in the cities, are giving instruction in such subjects as garment making, cooking, hygiene and agriculture. Throughout the country missionary teachers, assisted by grown-up students, called monitors, at very small salaries, are teaching adult Indians to read and write. In addition there are regular resident rural school teachers. During the years 1921-22, an education.

other practical pursuits and to physical | 1,219 rural schools, 12 industrial schools and 107 night schools have been There were 12,206 priestablished. vate schools in the country at the close of 1922. At the end of the previous year there were 11,104. erage attendance rose from 868,040 students in 1921 to 1,044,229 in 1922 and the number of teachers from 22,939 to 25.342. The student must learn a trade in order to receive his high school diploma. We are spending about \$24,000,-000 annually upon the schools, five or six times as much as was spent during the Diaz régime.

It being recognized that those who are taught to read must have books, which are, in this age, the workers' tools, 901 new libraries, classified as public, workers', school and circulating, and traveling, were established in 1922. this connection the Department of Education conducts large printing and editorial establishments, in which hundreds of thousands of books, pamphlets, periodicals, magazines and other publications are printed annually. The review, El Maestro (The Teacher) in itself constitutes a correspondence course on pedagogics. Incidentally, the Summer courses for foreigners inaugurated in the university in Mexico City two years ago, opened the 1923 season with 700 students, 90 per cent. of them representing 92 American colleges and universities.

The census estimate gives Mexico a population of about 15,000,000 persons, but there is ground for the opinion that the total is closer to 18,000,000. Under the Diaz Administration the census served military purposes, and a great many persons were not reported, or evasive answers were given, with the result that there was much guesswork. With at least three-fourths of the people unable to read and write Spanish, there are from 9,000,000 to 12,000,000 illiterates in Mexico. Under the present educational system we believe that within twenty years there will be very few of the younger generation who cannot read and write, while every adult who so desires has the chance to receive

# The Rise of Indian Nationalism

By TARAKHNATA DAS

A native of India, who resides in the United States and who has written books and articles on Indian affairs

Mohandas Gandhi, Indian Nationalist leader, the rejection by the British Labor Government of the native Assembly's demand for home rule, and the appointment of Sir Sidney Olivier, long an equal rights exponent, as the Laborite Secretary of State for India, the rise of Nationalism on that continent assumes a new and potent interest. These three events, crowded into a few months, have as yet been but imperfectly digested in India. Gandhi, whose physical condition brought about his pardon, is traveling in search of health; his only utterance since his release has been a reiteration of his nonviolence policy, directed at the Akali Sikhs, following the outbreak of fighting at Jaito in February. The celebrated leader of Indian Nationalism leaves jail to find Indian nationalist sentiment more aggressive and less compromising than on the occasion of his commitment on March 18, 1922, to six years' imprisonment for sedition. The willingness to compromise has lessened, bringing, in its stead, a sharper demand for complete home rule.

Indian Nationalism, as it looks backward, may truly be said to be able to measure the extent of its achievement by the distance it has come. From the first beginnings in 1857 through the period of reforms of Lord Morley to the establishment of the Legislative Assembly at Simla, and on up to the stantial results, a new spirit and a new present, with Gandhi's star dimmed, but with the home rule movement still vital, cident with the administration of Lord India's way to freedom has been a Curzon. Autonomy and "self-help" thorny one, beset with formidable obstacles. It is important in this period encouraged by the renascence of Asiatic of transition to survey the reforms self-consciousness which followed Jawhich the British Government has pan's triumph over Russia. The diffigranted to its vast Eastern dependency culties encountered by the British in and to study the successive steps leading subduing the tiny Boer Nation also did to the crystallization of Indian resist- much to stimulate the extremists, who,

TITH the liberation on Feb. 4 of ance to the British plan looking to the development, by slow stages, of the form of limited home rule. The complete story is one of absorbing interest, containing elements of sublimity and tragedy. For nearly seventy years the great drama of India's struggle for freedom has continued, and it continues today.

The year 1857, the date of the Sepoy Mutiny, is also the year of the war for national independence. This military effort, led by native military chiefs and princes, failed, while the position of the British Government was strengthened through the substitution of direct rule for the régime of the British East India Company. Until 1884 Indian nationalism lay dormant, although the upper classes, particularly the intelligentsia, began to think of constitutional agitation and instituted a campaign of propaganda in a very small way. During this period India produced a band of men who were profoundly influenced by European social, governmental and educational methods; the Indian National Congress movement was the medium through which they expressed themselves.

In 1884 began the period of the Indian National Congress, which until 1905 carried on a program of constitutional agitation and appeal to the good-will of the Government and people of England. But after twenty years of "begging," which produced no subextremist party came into being, coinafter 1905, became militant in their aerial bombs upon the native populaefforts to secure control of the Congress and change its policy. Following the extremists' failure to get control of the Congress held at Surat in 1908, the next seven years saw a series of attempts to bring about a rapprochement between the less radical extremists and the radicals of the conservative All-India National Congress. The Left Wing extremists, however, remained apart, carrying out their revolutionary program, which at times went so far as the use of bombs.

#### LORD MORLEY'S CONCESSIONS

The growing strength of the Left Wing extremists compelled Lord Morlev, the biographer of Burke, to put into practice the Great Conciliator's political philosophy of compromise. It was Morley who, as Secretary of State for India, began to grant some reforms, which, however, were considered inadequate by the Nationalist advocates of complete self-government. Lord Morley's attitude may be understood from his comment on the demands of the Indian Nationalists: "They are asking for the moon" (with reference to the Nationalist demand for self-government of the dominion type), and his slogan, "Rally the Moderates" (to attract the support of influential natives to the Government, thus weakening the Nationalists).

The World War gave the Nationalist movement a tremendous stimulus. The people of India began to realize Britain's dependence on them for man power, foodstuffs and raw materials. United by the course of world events, the Indian National Congress, which met at Lucknow in 1916, was a unit in demanding self-government for India. The home rule movement increased in strength as the war went on, reaching a point where, just after the armistice, the British Government initiated a policy of limited concessions to the Moderates, in order to split the National Congress, while the extreme left was ruthlessly repressed by such measures as the tation for self-government. Amritsar massacre, wholesale hangings of revolutionists and the dropping of tionalists were collecting their forces.

tions.

The granting of minor reforms Montagu - Chelmsford through the scheme succeeded in splitting the Congress, the Moderate minority accepting, and the majority rejecting the proffered remedies as entirely inadequate. The Moderates seceded and formed the Liberal Party of India, while the Congress became the organization of the Extremists. The Liberal Party now constitutes the extreme Right of Indian political parties, with men like Sastri and Banerjee cooperating with the British Government and at the same time demanding a dditional reforms.

Almost exclusively concerned with the upper classes of the population for two decades after 1884, the All-India National Congress began in 1905 to look increasingly to the masses for supsupport. Not until 1920, however, did the masses respond enthusiastically, but then the response was such as to surprise many leaders. Since that time India has witnessed the rise of a popular Nationalist movement, with a classconscious proletariat and peasantry demanding changes that will better their condition. The outstanding figure of this movement is Gandhi, whose program was adopted by the special scssion of the National Congress held in Calcutta in 1920.

With increasing popular support the radicals have become more and more active and influential. The Nagpur Congress (1920) made Indian history when it amended the constitution of the Indian National Congress so that the object of the organization was stated in the following language: "The object of the All-India National Congress is to attain swaraj (home rule) by all legitimate and peaceful means." mention of England was eliminated from the constitution, and non-cooperation to the extent of civil disobedience en masse became the recognized weapon of the masses, while the organization of a "State within the State" was to constitute the constructive side of the agi-

In the meantime the Left Wing Na-

both within the Congress and without, tige and numbers, 49 members of the to carry on the fight for absolute sepa- Executive Committee of 100 of the ration from the British Empire. Gandhi, Gaya National Congress belonging to who despite the fact that he is generally the Left, as compared with only 25 at regarded abroad as a radical, is really the Ahmedabad Congress in 1921. very conservative, opposed their program and worked hard in the Ahmeda- tionalists, who are also Pan-Islamists, bad Congress of 1921 to defeat Hazrat the Gandhi program has meaning only Mohani's independence resolution. Delin so far as it brings Hindu support to spite the fact that Gandhi was at the Islam and Turkey. The most signifizenith of his power and that it was the cant fact about the Moslems is that they first time that the matter of independence had been publicly discussed, 25 of the 100 members of the Executive Committee voted in favor of the resolution. It was a moral victory for the independence faction, and marked the conversion of the extreme Left Wing of the National Congress to the idea of independence. Gandhi, however, remained the guiding spirit of the Congress, always counseling greater mod-At the Bardoli conference, eration. held in 1922, it was decided, Gandhi concurring, to abandon temporarily the so-called mass civil disobedience program because of some violent outbreaks in various parts of the country.

The demarkation of party lines which set in after the Ahmedabad Congress found its expression in the Gaya Congress (1922). The Right Wing, represented by the most powerful and able leaders of India, such as C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malayva and Hakim Azmal Khan, championed the idea of entering the various governmental councils and carrying on non-cooperationist tactics within these bodies as well as outside. The adherents of the Centre Party, who constituted a majority, were mainly content with advocating a policy of "no change" in the Gandhi program. They failed to perceive that Gandhi always changed his position to meet the situation. The Left Wing, candidly separationist, advocated the establishment of a "Federated Republic of the United States of India." Also significant in this regard was the approval in December, 1923, by the Liberal Congress at Poona, of the Indian National compact calling for a federation of the Asiatic peoples "for the emancipation of Asia." The Left Wing Republicans will ultimately win; of that itself is steadily growing, both in pres- there can be no doubt.

To the Indian Mohammedan Naall believe in a militant State and worship Mustapha Kemal Pasha for his military successes.

#### THE SPIRIT OF NON-COOPERATION

A special correspondent of The Manchester Guardian in its issue of Jan. 26, 1923, correctly estimated the non-cooperative movement when he wrote:

Operative movement when he wrote:

The spirit of non-cooperation remains not pure Gandhism, but distrust of forcign government and a longing to be quit of it, and an unwillingness to work with it, even for the common good. The educated classes and the townsfolk are permeated with this spirit. The ryot (peasant) is affected over a large area, as yet rather superficially, it is true, but conditions in the villages are such that the spirit is likely to strike deeper roots. The army is apparently unaffected, but the army is recruited from the villages and sooner or later must follow the villages and sooner or later must follow the villages and sooner or later must follow the best men that the spirit of non-cooperation is strongest. You find it among the best men that the spirit of non-cooperation is strongest. You find it among the best of the Moderates. They differ from the Non-cooperators only in this, that they have a deep dislike for revolutionary methods. But this dislike is not shared by the country at large; it is felt only by men of exceptional experience or exceptional powers of imagination. The country as a whole is in sympathy with the rashness of the Non-cooperators rather than with the prudence of the Moderates. But, bear in mind when you read of the conciliatory temper displayed by the members of the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils, they do not represent the country, certainly not if they ever suggest that a reconciliation could ever be bought cheaply.

In conclusion it is certain that the Right and Centre Parties in the Indian National Congress will unite, the Right's program, which includes the organization of labor unions and peasants' councils throughout the country, becoming the Congress's official program. Then the struggle within the Congress will resolve itself into a contest between the advocates of a republic outside the British Empire and the exponents of

# Japan's Policy Toward Alien Immigration

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

American correspondent of The Tokio Nichi Nichi and Osaka Mainichi

APAN'S attitude on the question of restricting the emigration of her nationals to the United States has been decided largely by domestic problems; congestion of the population has become so acute as to arouse wide discussion of the possible enactment of an immigration law prohibiting admission of certain classes of alien laborers. The recent deportation from Japan of a number of Chinese laborers is only an indication of the problem she is called upon to solve. Japan, like the United States, finds the welfare of her own laborers menaced by the admission of alien workers with lower standards of living.

Japan's need for labor exclusion has been accentuated by an increasing influx of Chinese and Koreans of the coolie Labor, under normal circumctances, gravitates toward countries where high wages prevail. Wages in Japan, since the World War, have risen phenomenally. The stimulus to the building trades consequent upon the recent earthquake raised the wage scale yet higher. Today carpenters, masons and similar workers are paid 10 yen (\$5) a day in certain parts of the country, which explains why laborers from the neighboring low-wage countries are going to Japan in large numbers.

Japan has no exclusion law against Chinese or Korean laborers. Imperial Ordinance No. 352, which is often misinterpreted by uninformed foreigners as an exclusion measure, was, in its inception, a generous measure, granting to Chinese and Koreans the same treatment as was extended to Europeans and Americans upon the abolition of extraterritoriality in 1899. When Japan revised the old treaties and put an end to the extraterritorial or consular juris-

diction established within her territory by European and American Governments, she conceded to Occidentals the right of travel, residence and trade not only in the open ports but in all parts of her country. With regard to China and Korea, however, Japan had to adopt a somewhat different policy for the reason that the Chinese and Korean Governments did not permit Japanese or any other foreigners to reside in their countries, except in the "foreign settlements" in the open ports. As a matter of fact, Japan had a reciprocal treaty with China and with Korea, forbidding the subjects of each contracting party to travel and reside in the country of the other except in the open ports. This treaty remained unchanged because neither of Japan's two neighbors desired a change in their time-honored custom of excluding foreigners from the interior of their countries. Had Japan acted reciprocally, she could with perfect justice have forbidden, as before, Chinese and Koreans of all classes to travel and reside within her territory except in the former "foreign settlements" in the open ports. Such a restrictive policy would have caused much hardship and inconvenience to the Chinese and Koreans. As a special consideration, therefore, the Japanese Government decided to confer upon the Chinese and Koreans the same privilege of travel and residence as was extended, with the abolition of extraterritoriality. to Europeans and Americans, although neither China nor Korea had the slightest intention of acting reciprocally. The result was Imperial Ordinance No. 352, issued in 1899, the official translation of which reads as follows:

Aliens who, by virtue of either treaty or custom do not enjoy the freedom of

residence, except in the former settlements and mixed residence districts, may hereafter reside, remove, carry on trade, outside such former settlements and residence districts; provided that such aliens of the laboring class may not reside, remove, or carry on business outside such former settlements or mixed residence districts except by special permission of the administrative authorities.

#### EFFECT OF ORDINANCE

According to this ordinance, Chinese and Koreans were, as a general rule, freely admitted and allowed the unqualified right of travel and residence. The only qualification provided was in regard to the laboring class. Although there was no ban upon Chinese or Korean laborers as long as they lived in the former foreign settlements in Tokio, Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe, Nagasaki and Sakai, or in the so-called former "mixed residence" districts (which comprised the whole of the cities of Hakodate and Niigata) they were required to secure special permission if they wanted to "reside or carry on business" outside the settlements and districts just mentioned. In the execution of the ordinance there has been little consistency or uniformity among the various provinces, whose respective Governors, and not the central Government, have the authority to issue permits of residence to Chinese and Koreans. Although some provinces incline to a rigid restriction of the residence of such alien laborers, others are extremely lenient in issuing permits. On the whole Chinese and Korean laborers have had little difficulty in entering Japan. Only in exceptional cases have they been denied admission or deported.

In the specific case of the Koreans, their status has, since the issuance of Imperial Ordinance No. 352, completely changed, because Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910 has converted the Koreans into Japanese subjects. The result is that the ordinance, designed to regulate the admission of alien laborers, has long since become inapplicable to the Koreans. Korean laborers have thus been entering Japan in increasingly large numbers. In Osaka, Kobe, Tokio, Yokohama and other larger cities there have already sprung into existence Ko-

rean colonies of considerable size. The Korean aspect of Japan's immigration problem is the most difficult to solve. Since the Koreans are Japanese subjects. they insist upon their right to be treated without discrimination. In spite of the increasing demand in certain sections of Japan for a measure to regulate Korean immigration, the Japanese Administration in Korea, under the leadership of Baron Saito, does not countenance such restrictive measures, for it is genuinely anxious to promote the welfare of the Koreans and thus alleviate the discontent more or less smoldering since the country was absorbed by Japan.

Were Japan endowed with vast undeveloped lands and unlimited economic resources, she would raise no barrier against the Korean laborers, the more so as the Japanese and Koreans belong to the same racial family. Unfortunately Japan has no undeveloped land. The congestion of population in Japan is far more serious than in Korea or China. To make the situation worse. laborers from the neighboring countries always flock into the congested sections of Japan. Japan proper consists of four main islands. Of these Kokkaido, or the North Island, has an area of 30,275 square miles and a population of 2,360,000. The island, with a density of 78 to the square mile, is the least crowded of the four. The other three islands, aggregating an area of 110,212 square miles, have an average population of 485 to the square mile. It is to this densely populated section that Korean and Chinese laborers have been coming to compete with Japanese laborers. The violence committed against Koreans by the riffraff elements of the Japanese in the wake of the earthquake last September was undoubtedly partly due to the ill feeling created by this competition.

#### WHY KOREANS EMIGRATE

In annexing Korea the Japanese Government was largely actuated by political motives. Japan saw a grave menace in the Russian absorption of the peninsula, which was certain to eventuate if she did not take steps to prevent it.

find an outlet for Japan's surplus popufirst of those necessities, but the second has not been, and is not likely ever to be, satisfied, since the fundamental economic law, that labor will never seek a lower wage level, is against Japanese emigration to Korea. Korea has an area of 85,156 square miles, and a native population of 17,000,000, that is, 199 to the square mile. The country is, therefore, much less congested than Japan.

The figures relating to Japan's population and land area do not tell the whole story of her predicament. Other embarrassing factors must be considered. In the first place, Japan has no colony where she may find an outlet for her surplus population or obtain raw materials for her growing industry. In the second place, she is forbidden, by common mandate of the Western Powers, to send emigrants to any of the countries where the best opportunity awaits all willing to live by honest work. In the third place, the physical nature of Japan is such that only a very small percentage of her land area is adapted to farming. We may ignore the first two factors, but the third calls for elucidation.

As is well known, Japan consists of volcanic ranges and is torn by high mountains. Thus, the major part of the country is neither tillable nor habitable. Due to this peculiar condition, actual density of population is much greater than the average density shown by the figures already quoted. A report of the Department of Commerce and Agriculture classifies land area of Japan as follows: Agricultural land, 35 per cent.; residential land, 2.58 per cent.; meadows and pastures, 8.79 per cent.; mountains, 52.86 per cent.; other, 0.77. Further, Japan's percentage of farm land is only one-half and even one-third of what it is in most Western countries. As against Japan's 25 per cent., Great Britain has 77.20 per cent.; Italy, 75.25; France, 69.35; Germany, 64.84, and the United States, 46. In students, scholars, scientists, Japan the average farm land per head journalists, and the like.

That was the primary motive for annex- of population is less than a quarter of ation. The secondary motive was to an acre; in the United States it is 5.5 acres. As Japan has no land that can lation. The annexation satisfied the be reclaimed or developed, her per capita acreage must of necessity decrease in proportion as her population increases. A few years ago the Japanese Government instituted an investigation as to the possibility of extending the area of agricultural land by reclamation or development. The result was discouraging. The investigation revealed no land available for such purposes. In the circumstances the law of diminishing return has long since begun to operate against the farmers of Japan, in spite of the most thoroughgoing methods of cultivation and the most painstaking application of fertilizing processes. Today the soil of Japan is no longer capable of feeding its own population, and the Japanese are more and more relying

upon foreign food supplies.

Under such conditions can Japan afford to permit unrestricted immigration of Chinese and Korean laborers? She may raise a bar against the Chinese laborers, for they are aliens whose welfare she is under no obligation to promote at the expense of her own people. But how can she deal with the Koreans, who are her own subjects and who have a just claim for equal treatment with. the natives of the "mother country"? A Japanese law to restrict immigration. if enacted, would be for the sole purpose of protecting her own laborers against the unfair competition of foreign laborers. It would put no restriction upon the entry and residence of students, professional workers, and business men in general. On the contrary, Japan would, without qualification or reservation, welcome all classes of foreigners except the laboring class, for she believes that unrestricted interchange among countries of the educated and business classes is essential to international understanding. She objects to the American immigration law, not because it excludes Oriental labor, but because it raises a barrier against, or throws numerous obstacles in the way of, the entry and residence of Oriental

# New Party Issues in the Japanese Election

By HAROLD M. VINACKE Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

THE defeat, as yet not followed by after 1900, and, instead of opposing the the resignation, of the Kiyoura Government at the elections in Japan on May 10 lends point to the fact that only rarely are the significant features of Japanese political evolution brought to the attention of the Ameri-Even then it is, more can public. often than not, in the form of a continuation of the discussion provoked during the war as to the extent of military control of the Imperial Japanese Government. Yet there are some interesting and very important constitutional and political issues confronting the Japanese today, questions which should receive the attention of the non-Japanese world.

When the Japanese Constitution was promulgated in 1889 it provided for a representative Assembly elected by a very restricted electorate, for a House of Peers and for a Cabinet appointed by the Emperor and removable only by him. The Emperor was given the power to dissolve the Diet upon the request of the Cabinet, but the Ministers were not required to resign when the majority in the lower house disagreed with their policies or proposals. The House of Representatives from the beginning has been under the control and subject to the influence of the parties. But, while controlling the House, the power of the parties has usually ended at that point. Consequently the first decade of constitutional government in Japan was marked by incessant strife between the parties and the Government, a strife which was only temporarily brought to an end by the resort to a foreign war in 1894-95. The futility of this struggle possibility, although, in larger part, it became apparent to the party leaders was due to a split in the Clan groups

Government, they sought to make temporary alliances with it. The Cabinets supported in this way, however, were not party governments, constituted on a party basis. The agreements made were on the basis of mutual advantage, the Cabinet receiving support for its policies and particularly for its budget proposals, which had to receive the assent of the Diet, and the party being given consideration in the distribution of favors and protection for the interests of its constituency.

During this period the members of the Cabinet were designated by the Emperor upon the recommendation of an extraconstitutional advisory body known as the Genro, or Elder Statesmen. group of advisers consisted of the leaders prominent in the Restoration and post-Restoration periods of Japanese history. The people acquiesced in this method of selection of the Cabinet members, with some grumbling, to be sure, because the Elder Statesmen, it was felt, had gained a right to advise because of their outstanding services to the State. One by one, however, the members of the Genro have passed from the stage, until now there are only two of them left, and they are old, feeble and generally incapable of properly exercising a dominating influence in the affairs of State.

Before 1914 there had been only one pretense at the establishment of a party Cabinet, the Okuma-Itagaki Cabinet of 1898, and then the experiment was undertaken upon the recommendation of the Genro, partly to demonstrate its im-

which had controlled since the Restoration. In 1914, however, a party Cabinet was set up under the leadership of the veteran party leader, Count Okuma. Had it not been for the fact that the war and questions growing out of it, mainly those relating to continental expansion, diverted attention from the question of firmly establishing party government, it is possible that by this time the practice of selecting the Minister-President-Premier and the Ministry from the majority party in the House of Representatives would have been firmly fixed as a convention of the Con-However that may be, the stitution. Okuma Ministry was followed by that of Viscount Terauchi, a military man with experience in the administration of Korean affairs. The Terauchi Ministry was not, in any real sense, based upon party strength in the Diet. It was followed by that of Mr. Hara, the first commoner to head the Japanese Government. The Hara Government represented the Seiyukai, the strongest party in the House, and was in every respect except one strictly a party Cabinet. This exception lay in the fact that the ordinance providing for the appointment of the Ministers of War and of Marine from men either on the active or retired lists of the army and navy had not been changed. Thus these two members of the Cabinet were not party members. Upon the assassination of Mr. Hara he was succeeded both in the leadership of the Seivukai and in his official position by Viscount Takahashi, who thus continued the party government established under Hara. Ultimately his Government resigned, not because of loss of control of the Diet, but partly because of dissension within the party, although Takahashi was continued in his position as its leader, and partly because of the country's lack of interest in the Ministry.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE SEIYUKAI

Since the Seiyukai was still in control of the House, the question was raised at that time as to the basis upon which the succession should be determined. After a good deal of scurrying around, including consultation of the two living the Kiyoura Cabinet was given in the

Genro, and an attempt on the part of the President of the Privy Council to establish the right of that body to advise the Emperor in his selection of the man to form a new Government, Admiral Baron Kato was selected as the successor to Viscount Takahashi. of his services in connection with the Washington conference, the decisions of which the new Cabinet would have to carry into effect, and because of the respect for him personally both in and out of Japan, his selection was an admirable one. Baron Kato's selection, however, was a step backward from the standpoint of evolution toward parliamentary control of the personnel of the Cabinet. He was not a party man and his Cabinet was organized on a nonparty basis. This was done, it is interesting to note, with the approval of the parties. The Seivukai had no Government to suggest to replace that of its own party leader, and the other parties were in favor of a non-party Cabinet, since they could not control the Diet in the face of the Seiyukai majority.

The Kato Government was followed by another non-party Cabinet headed by Admiral Yamamoto, and, not long before the election on May 10, a new Cabinet was constructed, this time by the President of the Privy Council. The Kiyoura Cabinet is not only a non-party Government, formed, according to the Japanese press, upon the advice of the two remaining Elder Statesmen, but its membership is drawn entirely from the House of Peers. And even there it is founded apparently upon one faction among the Peers. In any other country than Japan, with a twochambered Assembly, one House of which is representative of the people, such a government would be an impossibility. Thus since the last party Ministry there have been three successive Governments, all non-party, each established in the last analysis upon the advice of the remaining Genro. Yet during this time the same party, the Seivukai, was in control of the House of Representatives.

Only one reasonable explanation for

Japanese press and apparently only one it important changes in the party life of reason was urged by Viscount Kiyoura for his continued support, now that the imperial marriage ceremony had taken place. This was that with a general election approaching it was desirable to have the Cabinet neutral as between the parties. Its announced function was to see that the elections were fairly conducted. It seems to have had no policy either in internal or external affairs which gave it a reason for existence. Nor is the calibre of its membership such as to inspire confidence. At least one of its members is viewed rather with suspicion. The Minister of Finance is Nishihara, who negotiated a series of loans with China which caused rather unfavorable comment both in Japan and in the non-Japanese world. His methods then were not such as to inspire great confidence in his ability to develop a satisfactory financial policy at the present time, when Japan is faced by the new financial needs arising out of the necessity for repairing the damage done during the great earthquake. Furthermore, the ability of the Cabinet to insure fairness in the elections was questioned by reason of the fact that the Home Minister has Seivukai leanings.

Since the promulgation of the Constitution, then, there has been very little progress toward the establishment of party Government in the Western sense. Cabinets constituted without regard to the party composition of the House of Representatives, it is true, have been forced into alliance with one or the other of the several parties, and there have been two or three attempts at the establishment of party Cabinets. But this does not detract from the essential truth of the conclusion already set forth. Until the Emperor automatically selects the leader of the majority party, or of a coalition of parties, as the Premier, party Government in the British or French sense will not have been realized.

#### CHANGES IN PARTY LIFE

has not advanced the movement toward party Government, it has brought with one of its founders declared that "the

Japan. The Seiyukai, since its establishment under the leadership of Prince Ito, has normally supported the Government of the day, except, of course, when that Government was based upon the support of other groups in the Diet. Even in that case its attitude has been conciliatory rather than hostile. But immediately following the announcement of the Kiyoura Cabinet, Viscount Takahashi, together with his following in the party, announced their intention of joining with the other parties in opposition to the Government. Takahashi even went so far in his expression of dislike for the new Cabinet as to renounce his title and with it his seat in the Chamber of Peers. This somewhat spectacular move, however, did not prevent the disruption of the Seivukai, a disruption which was threatened but not brought about during his own Premiership. Four of the other leaders of the party seceded from it when it decided that it would oppose the Government, and they immediately took steps to form a new party. In the formal announcement which they made of their intentions, these four leaders (Baron Yamamoto and Messrs. Motada, Nakahashi and Tokonami) said:

we admit that the organization of a Cabinet by Viscount Kiyoura was objectionable on several grounds, but we do not see the necessity of quickly overthrowing it, in view of the traditional policy of the Seiyukai, which has hitherto been tolerant of non-party Cabinets and also of the existing conditions of the country. Viscount Takahashi, the President, however, holds a different view. He refuses to recognize the present Cabinet, which he regards as tending to create estrangement between the upper and lower classes, rendering good administration impossible. While forcing the decision of the party for the impeachment of the Cabinet, on the one hand, he has conceived the idea of bringing it down by launching a popular movement in conjunction with other parties whose principles and policy are at variance with those of the Seiyukai. Moderation and steadiness have been fine creed of the Seiyukai ever since it was founded.

\* \* \* This traditional spirit of the party has now been cast away by Viscount Takahashi.

When it came to declaring its own aims the new party was as indefinite as Japanese parties usually have been in While the most recent Cabinet change the past. Speaking at a social gathering of its supporters, held on Jan. 21, 1924,

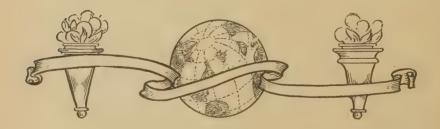
of the Seivukai as it was founded by the late Prince Ito." Another speaker said that "the course the new party should. pursue is that of promoting the National interests and the happiness of the people, free from all selfish desires." From all of this it can only be inferred that the new party, which has temporarily taken the name of the Shinseito (New Administration Party), will continue to support such non-party Governments as are constituted from time to time.

That the support of the Shinseito will not be negligible is indicated by the rapidity with which its parliamentary membership has increased. On Jan. 22 its officially recognized strength in the House of Representatives, in comparison strongest group in the House of Repre-bound to be raised again.

new party would live up to the true aims | sentatives, even if it did not secure a clear majority. Since its announced intention is to support the Cabinet, that body has done its best to encourage the secession movement.

#### AIMS OF THE SHINSEITO

Even with this shift in the composition of the House, the way of the Kiyoura Cabinet has not been easy. At the initial meeting of the Peers after its establishment the Cabinet was subjected to severe criticism, based on the statements of Cabinet policy made by the Premier, the Foreign Minister and other ers. These statements of policy, it may be noted in passing, were merely platitudinous generalizations. But, with opposition to the Peers' Cabinet in the House of Peers itself, and with the cerwith the other parties, was: The Seiyu- tainty of the combined opposition of all kai, 142; the Shinsei Club, 137; the of the parties but the new one in the Kenseikai, 103; the Kakushin Club, 43; House of Representatives, quite apart the Koshin Club, 23; Independents, 11. from the effect of the election results, it Thus the new party became overnight is almost certain that a new Cabinet will the second party in the House, and, as have to be reconstructed. The whole its membership continued to increase, question of the relationship of the parby secession principally from the Seiyu- ties to the Cabinet, from the standpoint kai, it seemed destined to become the of its formation and its control, is now



ASSOCIATE ALBERT BUSHNELL HART (Chairman of the	UNIVERSITY	REGION
Board of Associates)	Harvard	The United States
CHARLES W. HACKETT	Texas	Mexico and Central America
HARRY T. COLLINGS	Pennsylvania	South America
Arthur Lyon Cross	Michigan	The British Empire
WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS	Minnesota	France and Belgium
WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD	Columbia	Germany and Austria
LILY Ross Taylor	Vassar	Italy
Frederic A. Ogg	Wisconsin	Eastern Europe and the Balkans
ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH	Yale	Russia and the Baltic States
RICHARD HEATH DABNEY	Virginia	Other Nations of Europe
ALBERT HOWE LYBYER	Illinois	Turkey and the Near East
PAYSON J. TREAT	Stanford	The Far East
ROBERT McElroy		

#### THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

By Albert Bushnell Hart Professor of Government, Harvard

#### THE PRESIDENT

ROM month to month the country looks first of all to its President for addresses, letters and published statements which show the working of his mind. The first thing to set forth is his objection to party subscriptions which seem to presuppose special consideration or advantage for the donor, whether large or small. A message of an unusual type (April 11) included a protest from Secretary Mellon against the attacks made upon him by a Senate committee, "I recognize," said the President, "that it is perfectly legitimate for the Senate to indulge in political discussion and partisan criticism, but the attack which is being made on the Treasury Department goes beyond any of these legitimate requirements." In an address before the Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution (April 14) he paid a high tribute to the influence and action of women in politics.

Speaking at the unveiling of the stone placed by the State of Arizona in the Washington Monument, he alluded to the importance of the Southwest and predicted the coming of a fortyninth State, which he did not name (April 16). A special message was sent to Congress (April 21) to ask Congress to take quick action for the

ment irrigated land under the reclamation system. To the American Chemical Society he made a speech from the portico of the White House (a method frequently followed by President Lincoln).

He called special attention to the danger from forest fires (April 20). His interest in outdoor activities was shown by his designating (April 23) Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt to organize a conference on outdoor activities. A semi-official statement (April 25) made public the fact that the President had in mind another disarmament conference. His probable attitude toward the Bonus bill was set forth (April 25) in an expression of sympathy with the views of Senator Borah. In a brief speech (April 30) he accepted statues of George Washington and of Kossuth as a gift from the American-Hungarian Society of Budapest. He expressed (May 3) his interest in the Associated University Republican Club. His first veto was applied to the Bursum Pension bill, which he disallowed because it would add \$58,000,000 a year to the \$263,000,000 now paid in military pensions.

The party enemies of the President have begun to attack him on the floor of the houses of Congress and elsewhere, especially Senator Harrison of Mississippi, Senator Norris of Nebraska and relief of the farmers who had taken up Govern- Landis, the baseball director, formerly a United States Judge. On the other hand, Secretary Hughes made an elaborate and cordially received address in behalf of the President at the Republican State Convention of New York (April 15); Senator Lodge of Massachusetts has made long speeches in defense of the President, and Judge Gary, the head of the United States Steel Corporation, at a stockholders' meeting (April 21) declared that "the worst thing we have \* \* \* is our American Congress \* \* \* Opposed to the acts and views of these members of the Congress is a man in the White House, strong and solid and everlasting as the Rock of Gibraltar."

#### THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

During the last month the second change in President Coolidge's Cabinet was completed. Harlan F. Stone of New York took office (April 9), succeeding former Attorney General Daugherty. The new Attorney General was a fellow-student with the President at Amherst College and had been for years a member of a New York law firm and Dean of the Columbia Law School.

William Dudley Foulke, President of the National Civil Service Reform League, has protested at the appointments and removals of Postmasters for political reasons under the authority of Postmaster General New. The question whether former members of the Cabinet, especially ex-Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo and ex-Secretary of State Colby, have collided with a statute by appearing as counsel for claims against the Government within two years of their retirement from office, is still pending.

In the investigation of the election of the Senator from Texas in 1922, the committee appears satisfied that Mayfield, the certified member, had

a majority of the ballots.

A large amount of legislation is still before Congress, which hopes to dispose of it in the next six weeks so as to adjourn before the Republican Convention. The fate of the Tax bill and the Bonus bill depends upon the reception of those acts at the White House. The only important Supreme Court decision of the month is one setting aside a Nebraska statute, establishing the maximum weight of loaves of bread (April 14).

The investigations by committees of Congress go on steadily and several of them will last as long as the present session. The total cost of these investigations so far is \$325,000. They are about fifteen in number and are divided into the

following groups:

1. Investigations of Executive Departments: (a) Teapot Dome inquiry; directed by Senator Walsh of Montana; (b) Department of Justice under Attorney General Daugherty: conducted by Senator Wheeler of Montana; (c) Committee to investigate the Internal Revenue Bureau: directed by Senator Couzens of Michigan; (d) Land frauds in Rio Grande County: conducted by

Senator Moses of New Hampshire; (e) The Veterans' Bureau: Chairman of committee, Senator Recd of Pennsylvania; (f) Army Air Service: House committee headed by Representative Lampert; (g) Shipping Board: investigation headed by Representative White; (h) Stockyards control: Chairman, Representative King.

2. Investigations of Members of the Two Houses: (a) Seat of Senator Mayfield: Chairman, Senator Ernst; (b) Indictment of Senator Wheeler of Montana: Chairman, Senator Borah of Idaho; (c) Charges against Representatives Langley of Kentucky and Zihlman of Maryland:

Chairman, Representative Burton.

3. Various Matters: (a) American activities of the Soviet Government: Senator Borah, Chairman: (b) Propaganda in behalf of Mellon tax plan and Bok peace plan: Senator Shipstead of Minnesota; (c) Medical diploma mills: Senator Copeland of New York, Chairman; (d) Sale of fur sealskins by Government: Senator La Follette, Chairman.

Of these the only active committees at present are those for the investigations of the Navy and Interior Department (Teapot Dome); the Department of Justice; land frauds in Texas; the contested election of Mayfield and the two indicted members of the House.

The long strain of these exciting investigations has told on the temper of all concerned. George B. Lockwood, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, has been disclosed as the instigator of the investigation of Senator Wheeler of Montana, which seems to have been directed by Attorney General Daugherty. The principal agent was Blair Coan. No evidence has yet been produced to support the charges, and the case has been postponed for six weeks. Coan intimated that he had also something against Senator Walsh, who declared (May 3) that such an allegation was both untrue and a flagrant contempt of the Senate. Lockwood in return alleged (May 5) that his witnesses were being terrorized by "semi-official secret agents of the Senate." Frank A. Vanderlip, a well-known financier of New York, has subsidized a bureau of investigation. He brought on Heney from California to be counsel of the Senate committee and to be paid by private funds. He has also engaged ex-Massachusetts Attorney General Allen.

Evidence in the oil investigation has come forward slowly. In consequence of the protest of President Coolidge and a hint by Secretary Mellon that he was not called upon to endure indefinitely attacks upon him by Senators, the investigation into the Internal Revenue Bureau has been dropped. Charges that Secretary of Commerce Hoover was trying to turn over the Alaska salmon fisheries to his friends were emphatically denied by the Secretary, who stated that the purpose of that accusation was to prevent the passage of a bill for the conservation of the salmon.



The United States destroyer divisions 11, 10, 17 and 15 at anchor off Panama. By lying together as shown in the photograph a saving in fuel was effected by one boat supplying heat and light to the others in the group

Court indictments are pending against ex-Secre- | comes from the Western Union Telegraph Comtary Fall and others in the oil cases. Representative Langley was found guilty in a Kentucky Federal court on May 12, of conspiring to illegally transport and sell whisky; a Washington Grand Jury indicted Langley on March 31, and at the same time exonerated Representative Zihlman of any suspicion of wrongdoing. Other court developments are the proceedings to quash the oil concessions, both in the Teapot Dome reserves and in the California reserves; in these proceedings the usual legal delays must be expected.

Several cases are pending against witnesses who have refused to testify before a committee of Congress. The effort is to deny the full right of committees of Congress to subpoena witnesses and require their testimoney. The case against Sinclair is being tested before the courts of the District of Columbia. Arguments in the case closed May 3. Another case is that of Mal Daugherty, brother of the former Attorney General, who has twice refused to allow the books of his bank at Washington Court House, Ohio, to be examined. Presumably such ap sals will later be taken as will bring the issue before the Supreme Court of the United States, which, if it follows the precedents, will uphold the authority of the two houses of Congress. A third refusal York has been examining about 700 bills on

pany, which declines to turn over more copies of telegrams.

The new Attorney General has announced it to be his duty (May 4) to take the legal steps necessary to protect Senate committees in the proceedings before the Federal courts.

#### STATE AND LOCAL AFFAIRS

Aside from the pending elections, the most interesting matters in the States are: a report (April 28) by Commissioners on the boundaries between Texas and Oklahoma, and a Senate resolution authorizing the change of name of Mount Rainier in the State of Washington to Mount

The parallel prosecutions of the Governors of Oklahoma and Indiana have been completed. J. C. Walton, recently impeached and removed in Oklahema, has been cleared of charges of stealing public money and will probably escape further prosecution. Governor McCray of Indiana has been convicted of fraud and fraudulent use of the mails, and (April 30) was sentenced to ten years in jail and a fine of \$10,000. His indebtedness is about \$1,500,000.

During the month Governor Smith of New

allowed thirty days for consideration after the adjournment of the Legislature. He approved the Home Rule bill, which gives to the New York City Government large powers, including rapid transit. He refused to sign a statute for State roads on the ground that many of the roads selected had been pushed into the measure by members of the Legislature. The Governor also signed a bill increasing the powers of the New York Port Authority, in spite of the violent protests of Mayor Hylan. Mayor Hylan was instrumental in putting through a plan for a memorial building for Theodore Roosevelt to be erected on Central Park West at Seventy-ninth Street, as a part of the Museum of Natural History.

In the territories and dependencies the only serious question at present is the continued agitation in the Philippine Islands. Señor Queson, President of the Philippine Senate, in an argument (May 6) announced that the Philippine leaders were willing to accept the pending Fairfield bill, which promises to the islands more local authority, a Governor to be selected by the Filipinos, and independence at the end of thirty years. A resident Commissioner of the United States, appointed by the President, would meanwhile have power to hold up executive decisions and legislative action, subject to decision by the President of the United States. This plan much resembles the Colonial Governments in North America prior to the American Revolution.

#### POLITICS AND PARTIES

The Presidential campaign of 1924 begins to take shape. Profiting by the example of recent elections, Senator Borah proposes a stricter law for campaign funds. Representative Cable of Ohio has introduced a bill requiring a statement every two months of all receipts of campaign committees, both before and after elections. The National League of Women Voters is trying to bring out 6,000,000 indolent voters in the next campaign. A Democratic National Negro Committee called a convention (April 19) to provide a method for "rendering aid to the National Democratic Party in the coming election" on the ground that "the Republican Party has not fulfilled its promises to the negroes."

A keynote address on the principles of the Republican Party was made by Secretary of State Hughes before the Republican State Convention (April 15), in which he insisted that "we do not condone wrong; we extenuate no crime." To his mind the offenses disclosed at Washington were only a part of the usual disregard of law by bad men. He praised the existing tariff; the budget system; the funding of the British debt; the disarmament conference at Washington and the general arbitration treaty for settling dis- of New York Democrats, is a Roman Catholic

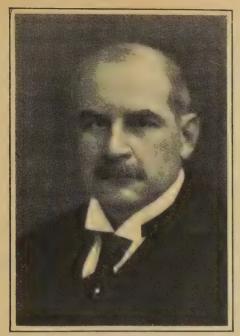
which, under the New York Constitution, he is putes among the American nations. He favored a mild form of common action with European Governments. Meanwhile, the relation of President Coolidge to his party and to the country approaches a crisis, inasmuch as neither the insurgent Republicans nor the regulars seem disposed to accept the President's decisions and policies. No President for many years has had so little opposition in the country at large; and few Presidents have found it more difficult to carry a consistent policy through Congress.

> Many efforts are making to commit the Republican Party to a platform in advance. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University demanded that the Cleveland convention adopt a plank against prohibition. He urged that the United States go back to the system of taxing liquor, which would bring in \$500,000,000 a year, and asserted that the "Volstead act ("a dreadful mistake") was building up a habit of lawlessness." His remedy, not very clearly stated, appears to be a legalizing of liquor traffic, without consideration of the Eighteenth Amendment.

> Under the direct influence of President Coolidge, William M. Butler of Massachusetts, his close friend and political manager, has been recommended for Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to succeed Chairman Adams. On the President's suggestion, Representative and ex-Senator Burton of Ohio is to be Temporary Chairman and to make the keynote speech at the Cleveland convention.

> As for Republican candidates, none is now left in the field except Calvin Coolidge. Delegates have recently been returned for him from Oklahoma, New Jersey, Ohio, Tennessee, Maryland and Texas. A complete victory was won by Coolidge over Johnson in California (May 6) with a majority of nearly 50,000, and in Indiana by about 6 to 1. No other name is likely to be mentioned in the convention.

> In the Democratic primaries, the only outstanding candidates are McAdoo, Underwood and Smith. The candidate most in the public mind at present is Governor Smith of New York, to whose canvass a new turn was given by the unexpected death (April 25) of Charles F. Murphy, the acknowledged head of Tammany Hall and Democratic boss of the State of New York. Murphy had warmly supported Governor Smith and was expected to lead in the effort to nominate him. The suggestion that the new head of Tammany should be taken from outside the group of district leaders crystallized into a proposition that Surrogate James A. Foley be made leader. This was modified under protest of district leaders to a triumvirate, headed by Foley. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic candidate for the Vice Presidency in 1920, has come out for Smith and is Chairman of his campaign committee. Smith, who has the enthusiastic support



J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

The American financier who has recently returned from a visit to Europe with proposals for American participation in an international loan to Germany

and an opponent of prohibition, though a believer in executing the laws as they stand.

• The movement for a third party goes slowly. Senator La Follette, the natural leader of such a party, has been in bad health, and no steps have yet been taken for calling a formal convention.

#### FINANCE

Throughout the month the tax bill was under discussion in Congress. The plan to prohibit the issue of tax-exempt securities was defeated. In the Senate numerous drastic amendments were added to the bill, which entirely transformed its character from the plan proposed by Secretary Mellon. The Senate by an alliance of Democrats and radical Republicans raised the 25 per cent. surtax rate maximum proposed by the Secretary to 40 per cent. and added numerous other drastic features. At the time this record was closed (May 14) the tax bill was in the hands of a joint committee of the Senate and House.

#### BUSINESS AND CONSERVATION

The last official return on the state of business showed that there was a decline in the month of March. Great complaint is made of the increase in building cost, which is said to have

doubled since 1914. Foreign trade is somewhat smaller, though about \$50,000,000 worth of agricultural implements have been exported in the last twelve months. The Sherman Anti-Trust act, which has for more than thirty years been the foundation of legal restraint on corporations, has been attacked by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who urges that questions of trusts ought to be settled by conferences between labor and industry, leaving quite out of account the wishes of the consumer.

In conservation the two serious pending questions are how to co-ordinate and combine into one system the electric power of the Eastern States and how to make available the immense water power at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River. It is announced that a "Coldfield group" has brought about an understanding among nine independent electric light and power companies within easy radius of Pittsburgh, as a step in the consolidation. For the immensely valuable privilege of Muscle Shoals, four propositions have so far been made. The first by Henry Ford (February, 1922) would give a monopoly of the water power to the bidder for 100 years. The Ford plan was attacked by Theodore E. Burton (April 16) on the ground that Ford offered less than \$2,000,000 for property costing \$90,000,000 and having a scrap value of \$16,000,000. Henry Ford declined (May 6) to appear before a legislative committee or to send any representative. The second bidder is the Alabama Power Company. The third is the Hooker-Atterbury combination, presented before the committee by Elon H. Hooker (April 22). The fourth bid has just been made by the Union Carbide Company. It is difficult to compare these bids because each of them is hedged in by varying conditions. The question of the amount of water power to be expected is disputed by engineers, and also the question whether fertilizers made by taking nitrogen out of the air by means of power will be as valuable as the farmers expect. A violent attack was' made upon President Coolidge on the basis of a telegram from a man named James Martin Miller to the effect that he has ascertained that "the President would deliver Muscle Shoals" to Ford. The President denied making any such statement.

#### TRANSPORTATION

A curious interstate difficulty arose between California and Arizona, when Governor Hunt of Arizona announced that on and after April 25 all railroad and automobile passengers passing from California into Arizona must be inspected and disinfected, lest they might communicate the foot and mouth disease which has been so destructive of cattle. About 200 motor cars were stopped at the west end of the bridge at Yuma and there detained for several days.

There seems to be a public demand for more drastic laws and better enforcement of laws to restrict automobile traffic, inasmuch as accidents and fatalities are steadily increasing. New York has just passed a good law on that subject.

Railroad business seems to be declining, thus weakening the movement to reduce rates. Government shipping is still in an unsettled condition. After paying claims amounting to \$34,000,000 against the Shipping Board, it was announced that for the eighteen months ended December, 1923, the loss on freight operations was \$54,000,000 and on passenger service \$8,500,000, all of which of course must be paid for out of taxation.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A serious difficulty has arisen between the United States and Canada, over the plan to permit Chicago to take 10,000,000 cubic feet per second for the flow from Lake Michigan into the Chicago Drainage Canal, and thence into the Mississippi. The Canadian Government objects on the ground that this withdrawal of water has lowered the level of the lakes, though no proof has been published to show that it actually stands at a lower level than previously.

In Latin America the President saw reason (May 2) for a proclamation forbidding the shipment of arms or munitions of war to insurgents in Cuba. This is similar to the action taken in recent relations with Mexico. The claim of Cuba to the Isle of Pines as a part of its territory, which was acknowledged by President Roosevelt, established by treaty in 1904, and upheld by a decision of the Supreme Court in 1907, is now questioned by some American residents of the Isle of Pines and others who demand that the United States assume jurisdiction.

In European affairs the principal question has been the effect of the report of the Dawes Commission on the ability of Germany to pay reparations. The United States is affected because three Americans (Messrs, Dawes, Young and Robinson) were made members of the commission and had great influence over the text and spirit of the report. It is expected further that German loans to the amount of at least \$100,000,000 will be placed in the United States.

Demands for world peace have revived and pressure has been put on the Senate to take some action in that direction. President Coolidge in an address before The Associated Press in New York (April 22) dwelt upon peace as an American ideal, approved the Dawes report and expressed the belief that the world needed "frequent international conferences suited to particular needs," and "the further limitation of competitive armaments."

A subcommittee of the Senate listened to arguments on a World Court (April 30). Senator they warmly commended the prohibition law.

Swanson proposed (May 6) that the United States adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice which has been set up through the League of Nations. The point of view of a straight Republican Senator was revealed (May 8) by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, who proposed to go back to the International Court set up by The Hague in 1899 and 1907.

#### LAW AND ORDER

There is a widespread feeling that the methods of maintaining public order and security are too weak for dealing with violent and organized crime. Police Commissioner Enright of New York City would like 8,000 additional policemen. There are charges that the courts are unwilling to apply severe penalties, especially for second and later offenses. According to a calculation by Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, about 10,000 persons were murdered in the United States in the last year, a rate of over 100 per million, as against 4 per million in England and Wales. A movement has begun for State and national acts against the sale and transportation of firearms.

Twenty-six members of the Ku Klux Klan were arrested at Johnstown, Pa. (April 9) on a charge of a murderous attack at Lilly, beginning with a night parade in which a fiery cross was borne by the Klan.

Various church organizations demand strict enforcement of the prohibition laws. Governor Ritchie of Maryland (April 13) went back of the Volstead act to condemn the present system of ratifying Constitutional amendments by Legislatures. Officials of the American Federation of Labor argued (April 21) before the House Judiciary Committee in favor of legalizing 2.75 per cent. beer, wine and cider, which, they held, were not intoxicating. So far it has been impossible to prevent the lining up of more than twenty vessels outside the twelve-mile limit in the neighborhood of Cape Ann and Cape Cod besides a similar liquor fleet outside New York.

#### SOCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC

In religious circles the most striking event has been the return of the two new American Cardinals from Rome. Cardinal Hayes was received with great ceremony and enthusiasm at St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York (May 4). Cardinal Mundelein received similar proofs of the devotion of his flock in Chicago.

The representatives of the Methodists have met in Quadrennial Conference (May 1). By a vote of 842 to 13 the conference voted to unite with the Methodist Episcopal Church South (May 7), after eighty years of separation. The united church will have over 8,000,000 members. The Board of Bishops recommended that the rules of the church against dancing, card playing, theatre and circus going be withdrawn; and they warmly commended the prohibition law.

A poll has been taken of nearly 10,000 ministers of the Presbyterian Church, of whom 1,283 affixed their signatures to an "affirmation" reasonable number of members of families alwhich is understood to be in support of the liberals in the denomination.

An important educational event was the appointment of Dr. O'Shea as Superintendent of the Schools of New York City instead of Dr. William L. Ettinger (April 23). The members of the Board of Education are appointed by Mayor Hylan, who desired the change. Dr. Ettinger asserted that one of the reasons for the refusal to reappoint him was that he had interfered with a change of grates in the schoolhouses which would cost \$3,000,000.

#### LABOR AND IMMIGRATION

Organized labor, and especially the American Federation of Labor, is taking a warm interest in politics and particularly in the coming campaign. The Federation in a declaration (May 6) demands protection for the helpless, the abolition of special privilege, freedom of industry, "depriving courts of the power to rule as well as adjudicate," "a policy of strict exclusion of immigration," "adoption of a child labor constitutional amendment," and another constitutional amendment to prevent interference with "the right of workers" to organize for the betterment of their condition. Support is also given to a movement for shortening the working day. It appears that about one-half of all the laborers now work forty-eight hours a week or less.

The only notable dispute has been that of the Actors' Equity Association, which on May 12 signed an agreement with the Shubert theatrical bloc, of the Producing Managers' Association, on what was virtually a closed shop basis. A lively contest has been going on over the Railroad Labor Board. The men demand that it be discontinued.

The Immigration bill has been adjusted by the

the immigration of 1890, the immigration of a reasonable number of members of families already in the United States, and no restriction on Canadians and Latin Americans, including Mexicans. The proceedings were interrupted by a lively debate on the prohibition of immigration of Asiatics, which includes Japanese. While that question was pending in the Senate Ambassador Hanihara sent a letter to the Secretary of State saying that the Japanese Government had carried out the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1907 in good faith, and adding: "I realize, as I believe you do, the grave consequences which the enactment of the measure retaining that particular provision would inevitably bring upon the otherwise happy and mutually advantageous condition between our two countries." The House had previously passed the bill by 326 to 71; the Senate passed it by 76 to 2. President Coolidge is understood to favor the general principle of exclusion, but desires a delay until March 1, 1925, to arrange the matter if possible by treaty. The House refused (May 9) by a vote of 191 to 171 to accept the President's recommendation.

#### MILITARY AND NAVAL

The army has brought out (April 26) a new anti-aircraft gun which has a vertical range of about 20,000 feet. Numerous critics have been pointing out the present condition of the navy, as not approaching the 5-5-3 ratio of capital ships fixed by the Washington Disarmament Conference. Hence a resolution was offered in the Senate (May 5) for an investigation. The House Naval Committee approves special expenditures of \$110,000,000 to bring the fleet up to standard.

Major Frederick L. Martin, commander of the army's around-the-world flight, was lost with his Sergeant for more than a week when his plane was wrecked on Alaskan mountains. They were found on May 12.



Wide World Photos

A concrete and steel school building recently opened by the United States Government on the Island of Guam



Associate Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

## **MEXICO**

below-CALLES

EDERAL control during April was restored in the Southeastern States of Yucatan and Chiapas. In the adjacent States of Campachy and Tabasco campaigns were initiated by Federal forces from Progreso, Yucatan and Puerto Mexico, Vera Cruz, respectively. As late as April 27 the rebels under General Candido Aguilar, after having evacuated headquarters at Frontera, Tabasco, were reported to be making preparations for a final stand inland. Elsewhere the Federal Government continued its "cleaningup campaign" against scattered bands of rebels. This was marked by a series of submissions, flights or defeats of the rebels. General Cavazos and his entire staff in Hidalgo, after attacking the capital, Pachuca, were killed in action against pursuing Federal troops. To put an end to the campaign of arson and plunder carried on by the rebel General José Morán, 4,000 Federal troops were sent to the Tampico oil region on April 21.

The Federal Government has continued to impose drastic punishment on participants in the rebellion, General Manuel Diéguez, brilliant rebel cavalry leader on the west front during the rebellion, and General García Vigil, rebel Governor of Oaxaca, were summarily executed near the Guatemala border. Similar punishment was imposed upon one rebel General and fortytwo subordinate officers in the State of Chiapas. At Puerto Mexico the property of General Salvador Alvarado, including a large electric light plant valued at 2,000,000 pesos, and in Jalisco the rural and urban properties of General Diéguez, valued at many millions of pesos, have been confiscated by the Government. An American citizen, W. J. Woodward, resident of Oaxaca, was arrested in Mexico City on April 24, charged with having contracted with the rebels to build for their use an armored tank.

employes at Tampico remained unsettled as late as early May, and continued as the most important manifestation of industrial unrest in Mexico. Despite the return of the Aguila refinery to its owners early in April by strikers who had seized it, striking workmen in mid-April picketed the plant and allowed only company officials to enter. General Manuel Pérez Treviño, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, was appointed by the Government to negotiate between the strikers and the oil company. On April 27 Secretary Treviño refused to grant the request of H. V. Tompkins, representing the American Oil Men's Association, for the Mexican Government to furnish troops to break up the strike of the Aguila workers. Secretary Treviño is reported to have asserted that the Constitution sanctions the right of workers to strike. The day before this President Obregon had placed the blame for the continuance of the strike on the Aguila Company, which was charged with evasion. The President also asserted that the Government had proof of the complicity of a number of the chiefs of the Aguila Company in the recent rebellion, but that this was not sufficient to use in legal proceedings. A boycott on products of the Aguila Companay was declared throughout Mexico by the Regional Federation of Labor on April 27.

With reference to the strike at the Los Mochis sugar mills in Sinaloa, Ambassador Warren stated on April 19 that the workers were standing on their constitutional rights. The strikers were demanding an eight-hour day, as provided for in the Constitution, while the sugar company had been operating on a twelve-hour day.

Organizations affiliated with the Mexican Regional Federation of Labor staged a May Day parade on a large scale in Mexico City. and black flags and proletarian standards were carried by the marchers and a demonstration was held at the monument to the anarchists executed after the Haymarket riots in Chicago in 1887.

Agrarian excesses occurred in two widely separated areas during April. In the Chicontepec district of Vera Cruz Agrarians instituted a reign of terror and assassinated twenty-five hacienda The strike of the Aguila Petroleum Company owners who were alleged to have been guilty of

complicity in the rebellion. The action of Agra- | cerning this proposition from the Governors of rians in seizing lands planted with cotton in the Laguna district was condemned on April 16 by President Obregon, who ordered that the offending Agrarians should be ejected from the lands by force. With reference to Agrarian irregularities and the steps of the Government to end them, President Obregon on April 26 said: "The Agraristas helped the Government against the reactionary rebel movement which had tried to overthrow the Government. Now it is only the reactionary press which is calumniating the Agraristas because they stood solidly behind the legal Government." Secretary of the Interior Colunga announced on April 30 that the Government had ordered energetic repression of the outrages of Agrarians throughout Mexico and that severe punishment would be imposed on those guilty of crimes against land owners.

Up to April 8 the Mexican Government had distributed under the provisions of the Agrarian law over 600,000 hectares of land. (A hectare equals nearly two and one-half acres.) reference to the amounts of land distributed under this law the State of Sonora led, with 185,793 hectares. The State of Mexico, where only six hectares had been distributed, ranked lowest.

General Plutarco Calles has resumed in earnest his campaign for the Presidency. Speaking on April 12 at the tomb of Emiliano Zapata, Agrarian martyr of Morelos, General Calles issued a challenge to the "reaction" and adopted as his own the revolutionary and agrarian policy of Zapata. A few days later at Zacatecas he endorsed the agrarian policy of that State. On April 21 General Calles opened his campaign at Tampico, where hundreds of laborers carrying red and black flags paraded past his hotel. In his speech there General Calles asserted that the strikers of the Aguila Company were demanding less than the law authorized and counseled them to adhere closer to the Labor Federation. denied that he was in favor of Bolshevism; he wholeheartedly endorsed the provisions of the Constitution respecting labor; he favored guarantees for all classes of capital and labor and a labor wage equivalent to that in the United States; and he asserted that capital in Mexico was selfish and that the slowly forming middle class there was supporting him.

At Guadalajara on April 11 a bomb was exploded in front of the hotel of General Angel Flores, candidate of the National Revolutionary League for the Presidency and the outstanding opponent of General Calles. General Flores was scheduled to open his campaign at Chihuahua on May 6.

Upon being advised early in April that 32,000 Japanese agriculturists were prepared to emigrate from California to Mexico because of recent anti-Japanese legislation in the United States, the Mexican Interior Department asked opinions con- Federal District.

the States of Sonora, Sinaloa, Nayarit, Jalisco and Colima. By April 16 the Governor of Colima had advised that his State was prepared to take 10,000 Japanese. The same day, because of anti-Chinese sentiment in Sonora and Sinaloa and because of the recent anti-Asiatic legislation in the United States, the Ministry of the Interior appointed Mariano Pontón to study the entire Asiatic immigration problem in Sonora and Sinaloa.

Meanwhile the immigration of Mexican laborers to the United States has attracted attention. From Mexico City it was reported in April that 4,000 Mexican laborers had left for the United Between Feb. 1 and April 25, 1924, 16,830 Mexican citizens, most of them laborers, entered the United States at Laredo, Texas. United States Secretary of Labor Davis issued a warning on April 11 that the "supply exceeds the demand and unless conditions improve there may be real suffering." Figures given out in April show that in 1923 over 50,000 Mexicans entered the United States at El Paso.

As late as May 6 neither the Mexican nor the United States Government had announced its representative on the Special Claims Commission, ratifications for which were exchanged on Jan. 19. April 19 was the latest date fixed for an agreement between the two Governments as to a neutral umpire for this commission.

That the British Government is considering resuming official relations with Mexico is given credence by the fact that on April 28 Sir Thomas Hoheler was instructed to proceed on a special mission to investigate and report upon the general situation there. The Mexican Government gave approval to the appointment on April 30.

A thousand mothers recently called on President Obregon to protest against the continued non-payment of salaries of school teachers. President Obregon gave assurances that the salaries, then two months in arrears, would soon be paid.

Negotiations entered into during April between the Mexican Government and American bankers for a loan of \$15,000,000 were reported from Mexico City on April 29 to have been broken off. It was stated that the bankers refused to accept as a guarantee the export tax on Mexican oil, because of the decreasing production of Mexican

Figures published in the Bulletin of the Pan American Union show that there were 171,648 matriculants in the schools and colleges of the Federal District in June, 1923. Of this number 6,614 were enrolled in the university, 2,914 in normal schools, 22,360 in private primary schools and 8,772 in public institutions not under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Public Instruction. The total number of matriculants represents 19.6 per cent. of the population of the

#### HONDURAS

DROSPECTS for the triumph early in April of the fused revolutionary forces besieging Tegucigalpa failed to materialize. By April 8 Zuñiga Huete, former Minister of Governación in the Lòpez Gutiérrez Cabinet, had been recognized as Dictator by the de facto forces de-fending Tegucigalpa. State Department advices of April 8 and 9 reported hunger, disease, pestilence, renewed rebel assaults and looting in Tegucigalpa, and in Southern Honduras another revolutionary movement in favor of Dr. Policarpo Bonilla. This movement, however, had been suppressed by April 19.

Meanwhile President Coolidge appointed Sumner Welles, American Commissioner in the Dominican Republic, as his special representative to offer the friendly assistance of the United-States Government in finding a solution that would bring about the establishment of peace in Honduras. Mr. Welles sailed on an American warship from Santo Domingo on April 9, and by April 23 had succeeded in arranging for a peace conference at Amapala, to be attended by revolutionary and de facto Government representatives. To this conference the United States Government invited the Governments of Costa Rica. San Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala to send delegates to assist in mediating between the warring factions of Honduras. By April 28 all four Governments had accepted the invitation and had named delegates to the conference; the first full session of which was scheduled for April 30.

The first conference with Honduran leaders. presided over by Mr. Welles, was held on April 24, and resulted in the elimination of six of the ten candidates for the Provisional Presidency. On May 1 a preliminary agreement was signed whereby General Vicente Tosta, chief of one of the revolutionary factions, was elected Provisional President. A formal convention was signed and peace officially restored on May 5.

Besieging revolutionists had already fought their way into Tegucigalpa on April 23, and by the following day were in complete control of the capital. As a result of the restoration of order by the victorious revolutionists, United States Commander Causey, commanding 167 bluejackets as a legation guard at Tegucigalpa, recommended on April 29 that his force be withdrawn. By May 3 Provisional President Tosta had named a Cabinet at Tegucigalpa and preparations were being made for the election of constitutional officers within a month.

#### COSTA RICA

Rica for a four-year term, was inaugurated on election!" deserted, with their arms and horses.

May 9. The Ministry has been formed, as fol-

TOMAS SOLEY GUELL—Finance. RAFAEL CASTRO QUESADA—Interior. JUAN RAFAEL ARGUELLA DE VARS—Foreign Af-

CARLOS VOLIO TINOCO—Public Works.
NAPOLEON QUESADA—Public Education.
POMPILIO RUIZA—Public Security.

#### NICARAGUA

PRE-ELECTION excitement and party strife continue in Nicaragua. On April 5 rival Conservative factions, supporting, respectively, the Presidential candidacies of General Emiliano Chamorro, former Minister to the United States, and Dr. Carlos Cuadra Pasos, Minister of Foreign Relations, clashed at Granada. Several persons were killed or wounded.

#### PANAMA

THE United States State Department announced on April 24 the extension for one month of the so-called Taft agreements of 1904 with respect to the Panama Canal Zone, which were due to expire on May 1, 1924. This action was taken in order to allow time for the drafting of a new general treaty to replace the Taft agreements and the various Executive orders pertaining to Canal Zone matters. A Panaman commission arrived in Washington early in March to negotiate such a treaty.

The census of October, 1923, gives the Republic of Panama a population of 446,098. As a result, the number of Deputies in the National Assembly will be increased from 33 to 43.

#### CUBA

NDUSTRIAL unrest and revolutionary activities greatly agitated Cuba during April. Longshoremen and other dock workers struck on April 8 for a minimum wage of \$4 and other demands. and by April 23 truck drivers, taxi drivers, street car employes, cigar workers, typesetters, and iron and marble workers had declared a strike in sympathy with the port workers. At that time the strikers numbered over 30,000, and transportation in Havana was completely paralyzed. Except for promising to protect the electric light and water supply, the Cuban Government assumed a neutral attitude. The general strike was called off by strike leaders on April 26, although the port workers remained on strike.

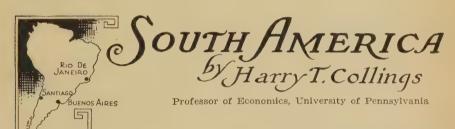
Political discontent with the Zayas Administration, fomented in large measure by the Veterans and Patriots' Association, which was organized last Summer by General García Velez of Cuban revolutionary fame, came to a head on RICARDO JIMINEZ, who on May 1 was April 29. On that date twenty-five soldiers, to elected by Congress as President of Costa the cries of "Down with Zayas! Down with reat Santa Clara, in Central Cuba. The Town Hall exports from the United States to Cuba were was attacked and the safe seized in the neighboring town of San Juan de la Yeras, after which a number of armed citizens joined the rebellious soldiery. The Government at once sent soldiers in pursuit of the rebels, and as a safeguard ordered the arrest of leaders of the Veterans and Patriots' Association. Two engagements were fought on May 2 between rebel and Government troops near Cienfuegos. The following day President Zayas left Havana for Santa Clara Province, to ascertain personally the status of the rebel movement. From Washington it was reported on May 3 that the Cuban Government had asked the United States to sell to it arms. munitions and other war materials. The Cuban Government admitted on May 5 that the revolutionary movement had spread to Oriente Province.

Despite her political upheavals, Cuba is enjoying an era of unprecedented economic prosperity. Government statistics just published show that in the nine month's ended March 31, 1924, the

greater in value than those to any country except the United Kingdom, Canada, France, Germany and Japan. With a population of only 3,000,000 inhabitants, Cuba ranked sixth in the export trade of the United States, and purchased more from this country than the combined purchases of three or more other important commercial countries.

#### HAITI AND SANTO DOMINGO

THE President of Haiti by April 26 had appointed delegates to confer with previously designated delegates of the Dominican Republic regarding the boundary dispute between the two countries. This long-standing dispute arose over the interpretation of the Treaty of 1874. The Dominican delegates were scheduled to arrive in Port au Prince on May 4.



NNOUNCEMENT was made on April 5 that a Pan-American Pedagogical Congress will be held in Santiago, Chile, in September, 1925. The Chilean Government has al-ready created a commission, headed by Dr. Gregorio Amunátegui, Rector of the University of Chile, which will organize the Congress. It is planned to invite representative educators from all parts of the United States and Latin America with a view to bringing about a betterment of educational facilities in the latter country and a closer union between the countries of North and South America.

Mr. E. H. Gary, Chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, returned on April 14 from a trip to South America. In his visits to Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil he was received in each case by the President. Mr. Gary said:

In all the countries I visited I found that the people desired the friendship of other nations, especially the United States of North America, as they speak of our land. The countries to the south of us have a great

future, but the development will be slow. They are badly in need of capital to develop their resources.

In the second instalment of the Annual Review of activities carried on by the Rockefeller Foundation, the President, Dr. George E. Vincent, tells of Brazil's progress in fighting yellow fever. During the year 1923 this republic undertook a definite campaign to eliminate the disease along the northern coast from Pará to Bahia. The report says:

The yellow fever situation in 1923 may be summarized as follows: No cases reported from Mexico, Central America, Ecuador or Peru; outbreak in Colombia promptly under observation, while extra control measures are under way in Northern Brazil.

Dr. Estéban Gil Borges has been appointed assistant director of the Pan American Union, filling the position made vacant by the recent death of Señor Francisco J. Yánes. Dr. Borges, a Venezuelan, is the author of several works on international law, and since 1909 has been in the diplomatic service of his native country. From 1919 to 1921 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Venezuela.

#### ARGENTINA

THE general strike against the Pension law scheduled for May 3 began quietly but effectively in Buenos Aires on that date. As a resilt, shipping was tied up in the port, factories closed, building activities were interrupted, and taxicabs ceased operation. The strike, nationwide in scope, was unique, in that it constituted a joint protest of capital and labor against what both regard as an absurd piece of legislation. The law provides for the deduction of 5 per cent. from wages to be applied to a pension fund for employes, the employers contributing a like amount. Strikes and lockouts have occurred in several cities, and in Rosario a number of persons were reported injured during a clash between strikers and police. President de Alvear has taken a firm stand; though acknowledging the imperfections of the new law, he holds that since it is on the statute books his duty is to enforce it. He has promised to ask Congress to amend the law.

The Argentine press reports that the Vatican is willing to appoint a Cardinal for Argentina if that republic will abandon its insistence on the appointment of Mgr. Michele de Andrea as Archbishop of Buenos Aires. Argentina recently recalled Señor Garcia Mansilla, Argentine Minister to the Vatican, who was said to have deviated from President de Alvear's instructions in handling the de Andrea question, and to have shown himself to be a "jealous defender of the diplomacy of the Holy See." Mgr. de Andrea withdrew as candidate for the position of Archbishop last November, but President de Alvear declined to accept his withdrawal.

The National Statistical Office has published a study of the cost of living in Argentina, and also of the rise of wages there from 1914 to 1923. The following table shows the results on a percentage basis:

PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN ARGENTINE LIVING COSTS.

Year. 1014 1918 1019 1920 1021	Living Costs.  100 169 160 186 186 166	Wages, 100 105 133 162 177	Wages Compared With Cost of Living. 100 62 83 87 106
1 01 1 03 1 03	139 136	171 171 171	106 123 126
1.00	. 190	111	120

Wages in Argentina have been low compared to living expenses; the rise in real wages, therefore, is not so significant as if the average laborer had previously received more liberal compensation.

Continued interest is shown in the development of aviation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has cabled instruction to the Argentine Legation in London to pay Major Zanni \$65,000 voted by

in which to attempt his flight around the world. The Ministry of Finance is authorized to remit to London \$80,000 to help finance the flight. An offer of the French and Italian Governments to accept Argentine officers in their units for training has been accepted. Major Domingo Claps is to join the French artillery in the Vosges district, while Major Adelmiro Farrell will take a special course in army training in Italy. Five other aviation officers also are being sent to France. Air mail service between Buenos Aires and Montevideo has been indefinitely suspended due to the discontinuance of the Post Office subvention of \$800 per month.

#### BRAZIL

THE present high cost of living in Brazil has called for Government attention. In April President Bernardes issued a decree fixing the prices of milk, meat, fish, rice, beans, flour, potatoes, sugar and coffee. The Government is to regulate the handling of staple food products, and the Minister of Agriculture is authorized to requisition domestic supplies or to purchase abroad any foodstuffs that are needed. An official entrepôt is set up to handle all fresh milk arriving in Rio de Janeiro. All cattle and meat consigned to the capital are to have precedence over other commodities on railroads, and a credit of 200,000 milreis (\$22,500) has been provided for emergency shipments to be operated by the Government, with price lists provided by the Prefect. The committee investigating conditions reported that the rise of prices was partly due to the activity of profiteers and speculators.

A plan known as the "valorization of coffee" was inaugurated in Brazil in 1906 to maintain the price of that commodity. The budget for 1924 authorizes the organization of an "Institute of Permanent Defense for Coffee." This institute will control the sale of Brazilian coffee by: (1) Restriction of coffee ports for exportation; (2) The imposition of a tax of 800 reis (approxi mately \$.10 at current exchange) on each sack of coffee sold (132 pounds). This will be a transportation tax collectible by the railroads when the coffee is shipped, and the proceeds of which will go to defray the expenses of the institute. A similar law for valorization was passed in Colombia last December.

A circular issued by the Brazilian Bank inspector on March 20 provides that in view of the abnormal situation in the exchange market previous authorization be required for all foreign exchange operations among banks in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Santos.

An exhibition of the State of Pernambuco, to be held at Recife, from July 2 to 10, will celebrate the centennial of the Federation of the Equator, a republic formed by four States in July, Buenos Aires to purchase a Blackburn airplane 1824, and dissolved after an imperial defeat two months later. The exhibition will display the State products of agriculture, forests and mines, as well as manufactured articles.

Dr. Rodrigo Octavio of Brazil has been selected as a member of the American-Mexican Special Claim's Committee, created by the agreement signed by the United States and Mexico last September. Dr. Octavio accepts the invitation of the two Governments to act as the third member or umpire of the Special Commission.

Tokio authorities are encouraging Japanese earthquake sufferers to emigrate to Brazil. The number from each prefecture is not to exceed 100 and each emigrant is given 200 yen to cover traveling expenses. This movement is supervised by the Overseas Enterprise Company of Japan.

The Brazilian Minister of Agriculture has just published figures from the national census of 1920, showing that the total foreign population in the republic is 1,565,961, of which three-fifths are males. The foreign population thus numbers approximately 5 per cent, of the total population of 30,635,000. The census included as Brazilians all persons born in the republic, regardless of the nationality of their parents.

Permission to establish four radio broadcasting stations in Brazil has been granted by the Ministry of Public Works to the Brazilian Radio Telegraph Company for the purpose of broadcasting information, lectures, concerts and so forth. Stations are to be located at Sao Paulo, Bello Horizonte, Bahia and Pernambuco, all of which are on or near the eastern coast.

#### CHILE

THE fall in Chilean exchange during the latter part of March was sufficiently marked to call for official attention. President Alessandri ordered an investigation of the causes to determine whether speculators had manipulated the exchange market. These exchange fluctuations have crystallized sentiment in favor of the establishment of a national bank.

The officers and crew of the United States cruiser Cincinnati were recipients of unusual courtesies during their visit to Chile in April. A demonstration of friendliness was shown by 5.000 citizens carrying flags, who marched to the United States Consulate.

Chile seeks to improve her educational system by emphasizing the practical side of training. The University of Chile has just added to its curriculum courses in chemical, metallurgical, sanitary and electrical engineering.

#### PERU

THE Peruvian Government filed with President Coolidge on April 12 its final brief in the Chilean-Peruvian controversy. Peru sum-

marizes her views as follows: (1) That a plebiscite would be impracticable and unfair; (2) that Peru should be given sovereignty of Tacna-Arica; (3) that Chile should pay the damages sustained by Peruvian citizens in that area during the last thirty years; (4) that Chile should pay to Peru \$10,000,000; (5) that Peruvian citizens be reimbursed for property left in the territory when control of the area passed to Chile, and (6) that all investments and improvements made by Chile should now become Peruvian property.

A huge colonization plan is proposed by an American company to open up a settlement of some 80,000 square miles in Eastern Peru. The plan involves the building of a railroad from Payta to Yuramaguas, located on a tributary of the Amazon, which river system will be used to connect the proposed railroad with the Atlantic.

The Executive power of Peru is authorized to contract a loan, domestic or foreign, of 650,000 Peruvian pounds (the pound is approximately \$4), to be placed at not less than 90 per cent. with an interest rate not to exceed 8 per cent. and an amortization not in excess of 2 per cent. The Peruvian Congress has enacted a law oledging as security for the loan revenues from stamped and sealed paper. This loan will be used to cancel obligations pending at the end of the 1922 fiscal year, beginning with a refund of 275,000 Peruvian pounds, which were taken from the 1923 budget.

#### COLOMBIA

THE Colombian Government denies the charges implied in the United States Senate investigation of Teapot Dome. These related to irregularity in the ratification of the Colombian treaty by the Harding Administration. Colombia points out that only \$10,000,000 of the \$25,000,000 to be paid to that republic by the United States has already been paid. Of this sum \$5,000,000 was used as capital for the new National Bank. while the other \$5,000,000 is in the Colombian Treasury and will be used for railroad construction. A special American investigator reports that "the dealings of the Colombian Government have been above board, and they are free of suspicion."

#### BOLIVIA

NEW inheritance tax law was promulgated in Bolivia on Jan. 16. Inheritances ranging from 1,000 to 500,000 bolivianos (a boliviano is worth 40 cents at par) are subject to a tax varying from 1 to 5 per cent. Beyond 500,000 a tax of 51-2 per cent. plus a surtax of 1 per cent. is The Bolivian Government has decreed levied. that all women teachers lose their positions upon marriage, and that henceforth no married women Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, through a subsidiary organization, has entered remote Bolivia in search of oil, and is now drilling at a point 320 miles from any railroad connection on a tract said to be 480 by 60 miles. Oil is known to exist, however, in only a small portion of this

#### VENEZUELA

THE most important event of the month in Venezuela was the assembling of the National Congress on April 19. This event is generally interpreted as an evidence that peace and normalcy now reign undisturbed in the republic.

Some days after the Congress opened General Juan V. Gomez, President of the republic, presented to it his official message. The various Ministers also submitted their reports. The Presidential message treated important questions of external and domestic policy and reported on the result of the investigations made concerning the assassination last year of General Juan C. Gomez, former Vice President. The authors of

shall be appointed to teaching positions. The the assassination have been discovered and the circumstances of the crime fully revealed.

> The search for oil continues actively in Venezuela. Oil findings had hitherto been limited to the Lake Maracaibo wells, but recently a new well, owned by the Standard Oil Company, has become active in La Cruz, in the Piar del Estado Monagas district, in the east of the republic. This new oil zone may develop into a source of oil supply of considerable importance.

> The report that an oil option has been granted by the Venezuelan Oil Company to the Stinnes interests was officially denied by the Venezuelan Minister at Washington in a statement published in La Prensa of New York on April 28. Under the Venezuelan law of 1922, the Minister explained (Articles 20 and 21), the oil lands cannot be the subject of contract until they have been returned to the nation by the exploiting companies. These companies have the right to keep half of each parcel, but are bound to return the rest to the nation, further concessions to be the subject of a long process of investigation and approval. Under these circumstances, the Minister points out, the inaccuracy of the report regarding the Stinnes options becomes apparent.

### The British Empire

By ARTHUR LYON CROSS Hudson Professor of English History, University of Michigan

#### GREAT BRITAIN

THE Labor Government is toiling along a rather rough road. Its most serious obstacle thus far has been the Rent Evictions bill: for it has had to face differences in its own ranks as well as opposition from the Conservatives and a goodly number of the Liberals. Since it has been decided that the landlords ought not to carry the burden of arrears of the unemployed, the question is whether the charge shall fall on the local authorities or the central Government. It would seem that the Prime Minister has in mind the local authorities. This will mean crushing rates in areas where there are large numbers of workless people. Parliamentary amenities have again been disregarded under the strain. The cry of "dirty Liberals" went up from the Labor benches when a score of their usual allies voted against them, and a former first Lord of the Admiralty struck a hot zealot who called him "a swine and guttersnipe."

ported in favor of a Government subsidy to build 2,500,000 houses within fifteen years at a cost to be agreed upon. A scheme of apprenticeship is recommended to supply the deficiency in skilled labor and an act of Parliament is suggested to prevent profiteering in prices of materials.

The budget presented to the Housing Commission on April 29 was received with mingled feelings by the diverse interests involved. It was neither revolutionary nor socialistic in tone, and Philip Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was congratulated by many of the Opposition leaders for the clearness and effectiveness of his presentation. The total expenditure is estimated at £790,026,000, which marks a reduction of some £40,000,000 for the taxpayer. A cheaper breakfast table is offered by lower duties on tea, sugar and coffee. Repeal of the inhabited house duty will be welcomed, while the abolition of the corporation tax will help to relieve industry and the consumer. On the other hand, manufacturers are much perturbed by the decision not to renew A committee of the building trades has rethe war duties on automobiles, films, pianos,



Kovetona

Part of the grounds of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, London, which was opened by King George on April 23. Part of the stadium, the largest in the world, is seen in the foreground

watches and clocks. This, together with the manifest disregard of imperial preference duties and the small margin of anticipated surplus—about £4,000,000—will furnish points of attack. The national debt, including £940,500,000 to the United States, the only foreign creditor, is £7,680,397,000. About £650,000,000 has been paid off the total debt account since December, 1918. The Government has recently converted £200,000,000 of the war loan from a 5 per cent. to a 4½ per cent. basis. The Disposal Board has wound up its work, having realized £665,000,000 from war materials in five years.

The second reading of the Turkish Treaty bill for ratifying the Lausanne Treaty was carried in the House of Commons on April 1 without a division. Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin is thought to have answered effectively Lloyd George's trenchant attacks by arguing that it was the best settlement possible, with the Allies at cross purposes and no one prepared to fight the Turks. The Government announced that in future all treaties would be submitted to Parliament for ratification, a step which has been described as "the Americanization of the British Constitution" and is obviously designed to prevent secret pacts.

As a result of the recognition on Feb. 2 of the Russian Soviet Government, an Anglo-Russian conference met in London on April 14 for the adjustment of treaties, debts, trade relations and other necessary conditions. Mr. MacDonald opened the sessions with an address marked by that combination of frankness and good-will which dominates all his communications on foreign affairs; indeed he was more than usually frank in

consequence of the peculiarities of the situation with which he had to deal. What with the Soviet Government, the Communist Party and the Third International, all active and more or less interrelated, it is difficult to determine how far the Russian delegation in London will be supported at home in any settlement it may undertake. Trotsky, according to a speech attributed to him on April 11, has unsparingly denounced the Labor Government for not smashing the capitalists, and has expressed a firm determination to pay no debts of the Czarist régime.

In most respects Prime Minister MacDonald gives little comfort to extremists. He has gone on record not only against communism, but also against sympathetic strikes. Although he is working to the best of his abilities to make war impossible for the future, he has admitted in debate that the situation in Europe must be still further smoothed out before limitation in armaments-which he heartily favors-can be discussed again. He does not agree with every feature of the Dawes report, but he favors adopting it without revision as the surest means of settling an intolerable situation. In his opinion, the relations with the United States have never been better. One outstanding cause of friction is apparently being adjusted by Sir Esmé Howard, the British Ambassador, and Secretary of State Hughes, namely the closing of the Newcastle consulate in August, 1922, on a charge, denied by the American Consul and Vice Consul, of their having used their authority to issue visas in such a way as to divert passengers from British to American vessels.

Lord Rothermere, the newspaper magnate, in

a recent interview, boldly declared: "There is room in Britain for only two parties, and the Liberal Party will disappear." As evidence of this trend, Captain Frederick Guest, at one time Air Minister in the Coalition Government, has seceded to the Conservatives; Winston Churchill, whose independent attitude has long been known, has left the Liberals; and, more significant still, both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George resent the attitude of the Labor Party, which does not consult the Liberals, shows no gratitude for support, acridly resents criticism or opposition and sets up candidates regardless of its allies. Mr. Lloyd George has been particularly outspoken. "Things cannot go on as at present," he declares. "The Liberal Party must assert itself." Yet he shows no desire to turn the Government out in the near future.

The industrial situation continues to be disquieting. In each month of 1924 thus far there has been a serious strike. The fact that a Labor Government is in office naturally encourages demands on the part of some of the workers; but there are many other causes, such as only a slight improvement in industry, insufficient wages in some cases, particularly among certain skilled workmen who feel that they are at a disadvantage in comparison with the unskilled, and, finally, a desire among various trade unions to assert themselves. Conditions are bad; though the cost of living has dropped, it is still 73 points over July, 1914, and hits many, from whom little is heard, outside the laboring class. As an acute observer, Lord Weir has pointed out, "the country's wealth producing performance today is approximately 16 per cent. poorer than in 1913 and we have about 1,750,000 additional mouths to feed." The cost of unemployment insurance has increased from £2,500,000 in 1913 to £46,000,000 last year, and the combined cost of workmen's compensation, old age pensions, poor law administration and other forms of State aid from £55,-000,000 to £165,000,000, all to be met by a diminished productivity. Moreover, not only are European markets disorganized, but the dominions manufacture to an ever-increasing extent goods that they formerly imported from the mother country. The settlement of the London tramway and omnibus strike on March 31 introduced a principle which may be of far-reaching consequence—that if an industry cannot be made to pay for itself, the deficit must be made up from public funds.

Although the miners' agreement expired April 17 and although they rejected the terms of the coal owners by a vote of 338,650 to 322,392, they decided not to strike. Conditions are being investigated by a Court of Inquiry set up by the Minister of Labor on the recommendation of the Secretary for Mines. The Government preferred this arrangement to a Miners' Minimum Wage



ARTHUR PONSONBY

Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the British Labor Government. Of aristocratic origin, he was a page of honor to Queen Victoria and served in the Diplomatic Service before entering Parliament. He has been a principal private secretary to a previous Prime Minister and has written several books on politics and diplomacy

bill advocated by the Parliamentary Labor Party. It may complicate matters that A. J. Cook of South Wales, who has just succeeded Frank Hodges as Secretary of the Miners' Federation, is an extremist, though he denies that he is a Com-After the employers had declared a lockout on April 12 and after the Mauretania, which might have kept 1,200 men employed for five or six weeks, had been towed to Cherbourg for repairs, the Southampton shipworkers returned to work April 19, having gained nothing in nine weeks. It is admitted that many are poorly paid, but competition is keen; indeed, for some time much repair work has been taken abroad. The extent of Great Britain's maritime interests may be gathered from the fact that shipping under construction in British yards on March 31 was 1,473,629, as compared with 1,042,-875 tons for all other countries, of which the United States has 119,767 tons.

In spite of a three-days strike from March 31 to April 3, led by Communist agitators, the Empire Exhibition at Wembley, a London suburb, though far from complete, was far enough advanced to be opened on St. George's Day, April 23. Thus is realized the idea conceived by Lord Strathcona in 1913 and postponed on account of the World War. The undertaking has developed into something stupendous. The grounds cover 219 acres; the total cost so far is estimated at £12,000,000, and an attendance of over 25,000,000 is expected.

On April 13 the rumor was confirmed that Lady Bathurst had sold The London Morning Post to a group of Conservatives, among them the Duke of

Northumberland.

A striking manifestation of increasing democracy was reported on April 5, when the exclusive Carlton Club entertained at luncheon the masons, carpenters and painters who had been engaged in repairing the building.

Following the lead of the film producers two years ago, the ban on German music hall artisfs was removed through the action of the Variety

Artists Federation on March 31.

#### **IRELAND**

JOSEPH McGRATH, who recently resigned from the Ministry of Industry and Com-merce, has formed in the Dail an independent group of four or five to be known as the Constitutional Republicans. Labor has hitherto been the only opposition, since the forty-four Republicans returned at the last election have never been seated because of their refusal to take the oath of allegiance. Mr. McGrath is a professed supporter of the mutinous officers in the army, who complained that the Free State Government has not been interpreting the treaty in the sense contemplated by the late Michael Collins-as a stepping stone to a republic. On April 10 the Anglo-American liquor treaty was ratified with the reservation that approval did not carry with it the "acceptance of the inclusion of Ireland in the description of the United Kingdom among the royal titles of the Crown as one of the parties to the said treaty." Although some suspects have been arrested, the Queenstown assassins apparently have not yet been secured.

The conferences to fix the boundary between the Free State and Northern Ireland have finally broken down in spite of the attempt of the British Colonial Secretary, J. H. Thomas, to mediate. It is thought by The London Times that each side has a fairly good case. Ulster insists that the Government of Ireland act of 1920 gave her six counties. The Free State takes its stand on the treaty of 1921, which provided for a boundary commission. Ulster declares that she was never a party to this arrangement, and Sir James Craig states that he and the late Michael Collins each agreed to appoint for direct negotiations a representative to report back to them. If the British

Government and the Free State undertake to settle the boundary, with Ulster persistently refusing to name a delegate, Ireland may again be torn by strife.

By a drastic cut in the Free State budget of £13,000,000, including £7,000,000 in the army and £3,000,000 in the education estimates, the country may be able to get on without another loan till next year.

#### CANADA

THE supplementary budget, introduced in the Dominion House of Commons on April 10, reports a debt reduction of \$30,409,000 and proposes a decrease of \$24,000,000 in the Dominion's revenue. This includes a reduction of 5 to 6 per cent. in the sales tax and exemptions in the case of agricultural and dairy products and foodstuffs. For the eleven months ending in February exports exceeded imports by \$158,524,000, as against \$142,717,000 last year. The abolition of the British duty on motor cars causes apprehension in Canada as in Great Britain, because of the preferential rates which Canada has enjoyed. In a debate on April 1 a demand was raised for a national coal policy with the purpose of saving \$100,000,000—which goes to the United States by developing the native product through customs duties and lower freight rates. Complaint was made also on April 25 that grain exported overseas from United States ports has been mixed with adulterated stocks.

Reports on Canadian immigration for 1923 show a substantial gain over the previous year—137,681, as compared with 70,153; of these, 52 per cent., or 72,480, came from the British Isles, including 49,000 farmers and 20,000 women. The United States was second on the list with 15 per cent. On April 15 a British Columbia delegate urged that a definite restriction be placed on the Japanese, alleging that the gendlemen's agreement had been systematically violated.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND

THE arrest of Sir Richard Squires, ex-Premier of Newfoundland, on April 22, on the charge of larceny, has resulted in the overthrow of the Warren Government through some of Squires's supporters forming a bloc and carrying a vote of want of confidence by 16 to 15.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

CENERAL SMUTS'S announcement in the House of Assembly on April 7 that his Cabinet had decided to advise the Governor General to dissolve the Union Parliament came as a sudden shock. This dramatic action was due to the loss of a by-election in the Transvaal, where the Government candidate was unexpectedly de-

feated by a Nationalist. Smuts won the last | general election in February, 1921, by a combination of the Unionist and South African Parties on the issue of secession. Since then the Government majority has been steadily dwindling, until it finally dropped to four. A formidable opposition has developed since the pact between the Nationalists and the Laborites, who, despite their conflicting aims, both nourish grievances against the Prime Minister-the Nationalists for his suppression of the Boer revolt in 1914 and the Laborites for his energy in crushing the strikers in Johannesburg. Furthermore, many want a change. Some critics complain that General Smuts has neglected South Africa for international and imperial politics and that he has failed to effect reforms in the direction of greater centralization of the Government and reduction of taxation. General Herzog, the Nationalist leader, insists that he is not aiming at a republic,

#### AUSTRALIA

MOST significant in recent Australian political happenings has been the turning of the tide in favor of the Labor Party. As the result of general elections in the States of Western Australia and South Australia the party has taken office. Following the Labor victories in Queensland and Tasmania, this means that in four out of the six States of the Commonwealth the people have lost confidence in government by the Nationalists, Liberal, Country and other anti-Labor parties and groups.

Senator Wilson in a letter to The London Times says that in a recent tender of locomotive bids six foreign countries went below Great Britain and that the lowest British estimate was 20 per cent, above the average of the six. In view of the attitude of the MacDonald Government toward Imperial Preference, Prime Minister Bruce is of the opinion that his journey to the conference was in vain and that Australia must seek markets elsewhere. This blow came on top of the decision to discontinue work on the Singapore base. In view of the latter step, Mr. Bruce views with disquiet the decrease of the Australian navy as indicated in the accompanying table:

19	914. 1919.	1924.
Battle cruisers	1 1	
Light cruisers	3 6	3
Destroyers	6 12	3
Submarines	2 6	
	months promp	-
	12 25	6

#### **NEW ZEALAND**

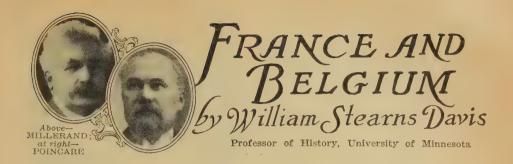
THE housing shortage in New Zealand is being overcome. The Government is building a few residences and lending money on easy terms for others. To provide railway men, by the council of the Bengal corporation.

who are State servants, with homes the Government has established a factory which produces two houses every three days. The houses cost £700 each, for which the rent per week is one day's pay of the tenant. Settlements are made on town planning lines with trees and recreation grounds. Nevertheless, on April 22 the railway employes went on strike for higher wages, finding £4 a week inadequate. Premier Massey is much incensed; for he says the stoppage was timed to cause the greatest inconvenience at the moment of the arrival of the British squadron. Encouraged by the advent to office of their brethren in Great Britain, the New Zealand Labor Party is aiming to gain power on a platform of still more advanced State socialism.

#### INDIA

N April 15 an illuminating debate occurred in the British House of Commons on the motion "that this House, viewing with anxiety the recent events in India, regrets the lack of a clear statement of policy with regard thereto by his Majesty's Ministers." Viscount Curzon (not to be confused with the better known ex-Foreign Minister), who introduced it, recalled that Colonel Wedgwood, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, had said that the British Labor Party was behind the Indian people in their desire for Swaraj (home rule) and had later added that "it was immaterial whether they had home rule or independence" and that Mr. Spoor, now chief Government whip, had asserted in a newspaper article that the whole nation was behind Gandhi. Mr. Richards, Under-Secretary for India, replying for the Government, said that it was his belief that eventually India would take her place as a self-governing Dominion. He denied that the act of 1919 establishing the Dyarchy had broken down completely, but admitted that it was not working "exactly in the way that was desired." He rejected the suggestion that a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry was necessary, but stated that the Government of India was, in consultation with responsible Indian politicians, conducting an inquiry of its own into the defects of the act to determine whether there were grounds for modification.

The recent wrecking tactics of the extremists in the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies have been most untoward and have blocked desirable reforms and obstructed essential business; but, after all, they are perhaps less to be deplored than the non-cooperative movement which they replaced, and Gandhi himself has been urging the abandonment of the movement which he initiated. In Bengal Mr. Das and four other Swarajists have been elected aldermen by the council of the Bengal corporation.



#### FRANCE

THE French elections to the Chamber of Deputies, held on May 11, went against Premier Poincaré, entirely upsetting the almost universal expectation and proving a staggering surprise to the Bloc National. The official returns, with 14 seats missing (the Colonies), were as follows:

Conservative Republican		
parties)		 137
Left Republic National Rac		
Radical Social Independent		
Unified Socia	lists	 101
Communists		 29

The largest single group is that of the Radical Socialists, headed by former Premier Briand, Edouard Herriot, Mayor of Lyons and the technical chief of the Radical Socialists, and former Premier Painlevé. The Government strength in the Chamber, with the 14 seats missing, is 274; the Opposition 296. The Government lost more than 100 seats, which went to the Radical Socialists and United Socialists. The total membership of the Chamber is 584, compared with 626 in the last Chamber. The Communists added to the 13 seats they had previously had, 16 additional ones, 13 of which came from Paris and the suburbs. Three seats were gained in the industrial district of Lille.

An outstanding feature of the election was the practical disappearance of the Royalist Party, the leader of which, Léon Daudet, was defeated. Among the woll-known figures who also suffered defeat were the following: André Tardieu and Georges Mandel, leaders of the Clemencists; Stanislas de Castellane, former Minister of the Interior Manoury, former Minister of Finance de Lasteyrie, M. Arago, a leader of the National Bloe; André Lefèvre, former War Minister; General de Castelnau, the well-known Nationalist chief; Prince Murat and Maurice de Rothschild.

The complexion of the new Chamber resembles that which governed France in 1914 when Viviani was Premier. When the Chamber which expired with the last election was elected, just prior to the American program no less heartily than did its

outbreak of the World War, the country was filled with fear of communist and social disturbances, and a militaristic spirit still prevailed, so that the elections resulted in a Chamber in which 62 of the members were army officers. The decided swing to the Left in the current election restores a party Government which existed in France for a quarter of a century prior to the outbreak of the war.

The election was preceded by numerous outbreaks of violence on the part of the Communists, several candidates being so badly hurt as to incapacitate them for further campaigning. On April 26, M. André Tardieu, distinguished economist, was thrown from a platform by Communist opponents at Satrouville, a suburb of Paris, and three days later the Bonapartist Prince Joachim Murat, another Deputy, was badly beaten during a meeting at Souillac, near Cahors. The most serious assault was that upon Gaston Vidal, former Under Secretary for Physical Education; while addressing a rally at Vichy, four days before the election, M. Vidal was struck on the head with a hammer; taken to his hotel, he developed a fever and was ill for several days. Jacques Dumesnil, former Under Secretary for Aviation, suffered painful bruises in an encounter with Communists at Melun on May 8. The assaults grew in ferocity as the campaign closed; the antagonism is attributed to the strong stand taken by M. Poincaré's new coalition body, "The Party of Republican Union and National Concord," against the Communists.

The election was held under the new electoral law which has reduced the total of Deputies by forty-two; under the law, forty-four departments lost one or two Deputies; in a few cases the quota was increased.

#### FRANCE ASKS GUARANTEES

The French press expressed extreme satisfaction in the Dawes commission's report. A rumor from London-that the grant of American credits stabilizing the franc had been conditional upon M. Poincaré's acceptance of the Dawes proposals was vehemently denied in Paris. The Government, though declaring that it accepted the American program no less heartily than did its

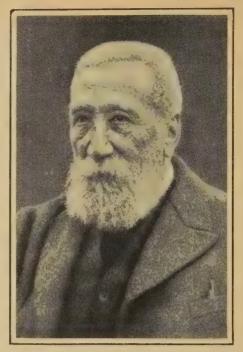
Allies, at once raised the old question: "What guarantees would France receive in event of German default?" Meantime signs abounded of pressure upon Poincaré by French radical forces; on April 25, former Premier Briand, in a speech at Nantes pictured the extreme dangers awaiting the country if it pursued a policy of isolation, and declared such folly had brought repeated disaster, especially in 1815 and 1870. The Premier, however, remained adamant, and on May 7 was reported as having notified Great Britain that he favored a postponement of any allied conference until Germany took steps to fulfill her obligation under the Dawes plan.

On May 5, following a visit of the Belgian Premier, M. Theunis, to London, somewhat as an intermediary for M. Poincaré, it was unofficially given out that the French Ministers were willing to return the main control of the Ruhr railways to Germany, provided 10,000 French and Belgian railway men remained to guard against passive resistance, and that, in deference to British wishes, the French garrison might even be withdrawn, provided "there could be a binding agreement of the Allies [in event of German default] to blockade all German ports, but there must be no jockeying and the blockade must be effective automatically."

Public opinion against disarmament has again been excited by a widely accepted article in the May issue of the Revue des Deux Mondes by Captain René Fonck, a distinguished World War ace, depicting the fearful possibilities of a German "War of Revenge", fought mainly in the air. Germany, Captain Fonck writes, is now building within her own borders thousands of "commercial" planes easily transformable into military machines, and, by means of factories in Holland, Spain, Sweden and Russia, can build huge technical military planes. With her enormous chemical machine, Germany could almost overnight supply gas and explosives for a potential air fleet; the result, he adds, would be "the most terrible scourge humanity has ever suffered,' with non-combatants snuffed out by thousands upon thousands. Captain Fonck regards the quarrel between France and Germany as "bearing the immutable signs of perenniality." As a remedy for the situation he proposes, not a general increase of armament, but instead a reasonable understanding and "air-alliance" with England.

#### RELATIVE TAX BURDENS

The statements of Mr. Snowden, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, that in 1923 the average taxation per capita in France was only about 40 per cent. of that of Britain, has given great offense to French financial representatives. They countered by making public the expert analysis of the two taxation systems as prepared by



ANATOLE FRANCE
The greatest living man of letters in France,
wno has recently celebrated the eightieth
anniversary of his birth

George P. Auld, an American, until lately General Accountant of the Commission of Reparations; this analysis shows that a large part of French taxes are indirect, instead of being combined in a single big levy as is the British income tax. His detailed report adds that, considering the purchasing power of money the average pre-war income in Britain was taxed in 1923 at 20 per cent. of its total, while the same income in France was taxed 18.3 per cent.—only a small fraction less. Nor should it be forgotten that the British Ministry is now striving to reduce taxes, while the Poincaré Government has just put through its program of a general increase of 20 per cent. As for improving the situation through the income tax alone, the report points out that it is difficult to raise great sums from petty incomes: "France is a land of many small fortunes, small land owners and small farmers." There are now about 500,000 taxpayers rated at between \$500 and \$1,500 per annum, but there are only 197 "very rich people" with incomes, at present rate of exchange, in excess of \$57,000. It is obviously impossible to take by direct taxation more than a certain proportion of incomes under \$1,500.

countered by making public the expert analysis The rate of exchange for the franc, following of the two taxation systems as prepared by its great rehabilitation in March, remains de-

cidedly satisfactory. On May 6, the price in with Swiss and American bankers for stabilizing New York was \$0.0659, dollar exchange. This improvement has not yet, however, produced a corresponding drop in the cost of living; in Paris about April 15 this stood at 5.1 times the figure for 1913, although the average of wages had only increased 3.5 times. American tourists expecting to find a trip through France "cheap" have therefore met with considerable disappointment.

The air feat of Lieutenant Péletier d'Oisv is delighting Paris; the Lieutenant left late in April on a flight from Paris to Tokio; he crossed India safely and on May 5 reached Calcutta.

Reports continue that the situation in French Syria is becoming uncomfortable. Turkish papers tell of petty battles near Aleppo between the occupying troops and bands of natives. It is stated that two Levantine journalists, a Syrian and a Druz, who were received in audience by King Hussein in Transjordania, were arrested when they returned to French Syria, on the charge of "conspiracy against the safety of the State."

Conditions in French North Africa are relatively quiet. The "Second North African Conference" was opened at Rabat on April 7 by Marshal Lyautey, Resident General of Morocco, who congratulated the delegates upon the harmony between the different racial elements, the loyalty to France of the natives, and the helpful attitude of the reigning Sultan of Morocco.

#### BELGIUM

A PART from Belgian interest in the Dawes report, the most serious concern of King Albert's nation recently has been the partial closing of the great port of Antwerp. large vessels, such as the Red Star liners Lapland and Belgenland, drawing thirty feet of water, have been compelled to make their terminus at London. The sinking of the Spanish steamer Sierra Grande in the important Bath Pass at the mouth of the Scheldt forced all vessels into the old "Relland Channel," allowing only twenty-seven feet. Skippers doubt the possibility of controlling the constant influx of sand which has been growing worse since March, but the Council of Ministers, viewing the matter as a national emergency, has ordered the installation of enormous dredges. It is announced that Antwerp will surely be reached again by the largest ships not later than June 1. In the meantime, hotels of the city bewail the loss of tourist traffic. The problem is causing concern on this score, because Antwerp is the only great port of Belgium; Ostend and Zeebrugge are available only for North Sea mail packets.

The Government declared that any negotiations | per cent. in 1913.

Belgian credit were strictly private, and that the Ministry of Finance took no part in such transactions. The value of the Belgian franc stood, on May 6, at the relatively good figure of \$0.0531 American exchange; the entire country continued prosperous, although there had been a slight falling off lately in international trade.

The Chamber of Deputies on April 10 unanimously passed a motion by M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, to ask the Soviet Government for clemency on behalf of the four members of the Russian "Intelligentsia," who were condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal at Kiev. The Government warmly supported the motion.

The Belgian reception of the report of the Dawes commission was on the whole extremely favorable, and on April 23 it was announced that the proposal would meet with "full and complete acceptance" by the Government. Theunis Ministry, however, found it desirable that the most complete understanding should be reached with France, and it was given out at Brussels that the French Government held the total of the German debt to be an integral part of the interallied debt question, while the Belgian leaders thought that "the two questions might, without being intermingled, be considered on parallel lines;" furthermore, the Belgians were willing to consider how the Ruhr occupation could be ended, "but on condition certain serious guarantees could be arranged." Premier Theunis and Foreign Minister Hymans visited Premier Poincaré at Paris on April 28 and, after a conference in which Marshal Foch participated, it was declared that "a complete accord" between the two Governments had been reached. this accord pertaining particularly to "some plan for the eventual application of penalties (in event of a German default) before the Allies could abandon the pledges held in the Ruhr."

It was thus evident that Belgium still marched with France rather than with England in the great question of German reparations. Premier Theunis subsequently visited Prime Minister Mac-Donald in London, and spent several days trying to impress on the British Premier the fairness of the Franco-Belgian attitude. M. Theunis left London on May 5.

M. Hymans, at a meeting in Brussels, spoke optimistically of the nation's economic condition, which, he predicted, would improve steadily. The elimination of unemployment, the revival of home production and the reduction in imports were cited in support of this view; he declared that 62 per cent. of Belgium's supplies are now being manufactured within the country, as against 38



# GERMANY AND AUSTRIA William R. Shepherd

Professor of History, Columbia University

May 4: Contrary to expectations in certain quarters at home and abroad, there was no disorder, though there was much liveliness, suggestive of American methods, in campaigning. Nor did the long heralded "Trend to the Right"or to the Left, for that matter-materialize in anything like the proportions that had been hoped or feared. Though the four-party coalition of Social Democrats, Centrists, German People's Party and Democrats, hitherto in control of the National Legislature, underwent a serious reduction in its representation, the loss, apparently, was not sufficient to render the conduct of public business under its direction impossible. Nearly 85 per cent. of the voting population took part in the choice of candidates from twenty-three parties, comprising seventy-five factions. Prominent among the men elected were Chancellor Marx, Foreign Minister Stresemann, General von Ludendorff, Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, Count von Bernstorff, Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, Count Otto von Bis-marck, grandson of the Iron Chancellor, and Philip Scheidemann, the Socialist leader.

In the absence of the full official returns, the party affiliations in the Reichstag seem to be as follows:

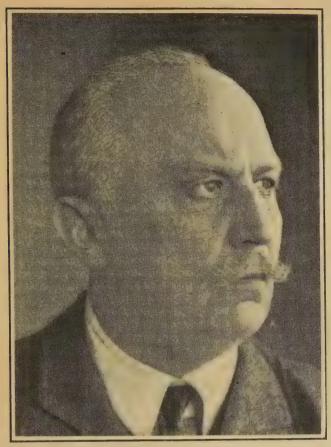
Social Democrats100
Centrists
German People's Party 44
Democrats
People's Freedom Party (Volkische) 32
Bavarian People's Party
German National Party 96
Civil (Bürgerlicher) and Bavarian Agra-
rian League 10
Land Union 9
Hanoverians 5
German Social Party 4
Communists

The results show that a majority of Germans favor the "policy of fulfillment," qualified acceptance of the Dawes report and the maintenance of the Republic. In the Reichstag their spokesmen are the members of the coalition, the moderate Nationalists and the representatives of certain smaller organizations. At the two extremes stand: On the Right, the People's Freedom Party, violently vociferous in its disapproval of all three lines of policy, and on the Left, the Communists, noisier by far and having at their head a young Jewish woman of Austrian extraction, Elfrieda

MHE elections to the Reichstag were held on May 4. Contrary to expectations in certain quarters at home and abroad, there was no order, though there was much liveliness, sug-

The most remarkable features of the elections, perhaps, were the failure of the Ultra-Nationalists to poll even approximately the number of votes that the general condemnation of French action in the Ruhr Valley might have presupposed, and the success of the Communists in swelling their chorus in the Reichstag to nearly four times its previous volume. That the former were unable to elect a larger representation may be attributed chiefly to the publication of the Dawes report, which furnished the moderates throughout the country with a fighting platform. and in minor degree to the death by accident of the ardent Nationalist statesman, Dr. Karl Helfferich. Since the majority of the Communists, on the other hand, came from constituencies in the Ruhr Valley, the fact would indicate that patriotic considerations did not determine the choice. Instead, it signified a radical defection from the ranks of the Socialists, due to their acquiescence in the quasi-dictatorship that has ruled Germany in recent months, and to the extensive abolition of the eight-hour day.

In essence the Dawes report, containing the recommendation of the Board of International Economic Experts, headed by an American, Charles G. Dawes, and appointed by the Reparation Commission in pursuance of a suggestion from the American Secretary of State, provides as follows: (1) That Germany must meet to the full extent of its capacity its external obligations imposed by the Treaty of Versailles; (2) that the payments should be made on the basis of a sliding scale, beginning with 1,000,000,000 gold marks for the first year; (3) that the charges should be defrayed from taxation, the railways and industrial debentures, a mortgage being placed for the purpose on the industries of the country; (4) that, in order to enable Germany's creditors to share in the prosperity that fulfillment of the recommendations may be expected to bring, an "index" of such prosperity, based on factors of domestic industry, should be devised; (5) that a foreign loan of 800,000.000 gold marks should be obtained, so as to satisfy the requirements of the



LUDENDORFF AS HE LOOKS TODAY The latest portrait of the German General, taken in February, 1924, is regarded by some as betraying a likeness to the ex-Kaiser in his better days

gold reserve and aid in the payment of immediate, other oppressive measures there and in the Rhineobligations; (6) that a bank of issue be created to promote the stabilization of German currency, as a fundamental economic prerequisite; (7) that an international organization of control be set up, to consist of a trustee for railway and industrial bonds, three commissioners of railways, the bank and revenues, and an agent in charge of the actual payment of reparations, and (8) that France and Belgium relinquish economic control of the occupied territory.

Although by the middle of April the several allied Governments, and Germany as well, had accepted the report in principle, much yet remains to be done, by way of political adjustment, before it can be put into execution. Officially, France wishes to have the plan tried out for a while before consenting definitely to loosen its grip upon the Ruhr Valley as a "pledge," and to have penalties laid down by itself and Great had begun operations the general credit situation

Britain in advance of possible default by Germany. Great Britain prefers to have the plan regarded as an "indivisible whole," and applied without any prior scheme of punishment. Germany, on its part, considering the report as a "practical basis for a rapid solution of the reparations problem," declares its readiness to collaborate in carrying the recommendations into effect. Difficulties, then, of a political nature, confront the realization of a course of action which, in sheer serviceability and sound business sense, wholly surpasses any of the projects worked out in the long series of international European conferences that followed the "peace that was no peace" of Versailles.

The severity with which the French military authorities in the Ruhr Valley have seen fit to punish Germans charged with offenses against the foreign occupants of this portion of their homeland was well exemplified by the condemnation. on April 18, of twenty-two men to longer or shorter terms of imprisonment at hard labor. more than half of them being transported to the tropical islands off French Guiana, where Captain Drevfus once was made to suffer. Arbitrary searches and seizures, espionage, censorship, the supervision of schoolboys and the resort to

land, the encouragement given to the separatist movement, the entire process of "Gallicization," indeed, could hardly fail to convert those areas into hotbeds of activity for all sorts of secret German organizations of Nationalist sympathies. The greater the rigor displayed in efforts to combat them, the more irrepressible they become.

The new gold discount bank was opened at Berlin on April 16. Half of its capital of £10,-000,000 was subscribed by the Reichsbank, on the basis of a loan of like amount from the Bank of England, and half from German sources with backing from American financiers. The primary function of the bank is to extend credits to the business concerns of the country. It may issue notes up to a value of £5,000,000, which are secured, half by gold and half by dollar and sterling bills. Within two weeks after the bank

became somewhat improved. The state of the public finances also was more satisfactory, yielding a surplus a little more than sufficient to cover

a preceding deficit.

Up to the first week in May, industrial energies, notably in the production of coal, showed considerable gains, despite a scarcity at times of credit facilities. The two largest petroleum corporations entered into a combination, mainly for the purpose of exploiting the Russian field in collaboration with the German representative of the Standard Oil Company. Official authorization was granted to beet sugar producers to export double the quantity that they had hitherto been allowed. Commercial recovery, moreover, was hastened by the formal opening, on April 12, of a free port at Kiel, once the great naval harbor of Germany.

The growing dissatisfaction of workingmen, stimulated by the spread of communism fomented from Russia, over the tendency to increase the number of hours of labor without a corresponding betterment in wages, resulted, on May 6, in the declaration of a lockout by mine owners in the Ruhr Valley. This was extended forthwith to Saxony, where the workers in the districts of Chemnitz and Zwickau refused to labor more than eight hours a day. The industrial crisis thus produced threatens to become one of the most serious that Germany has had in recent years, not only because it has already affected upward of 400,000 men, but because it came just three weeks after the German industrials operating in the Ruhr had agreed to renew for two months the arrangements into which they entered some time ago with the "M. I. C. U. M." ("Mission Interalliée de Contrôle d'Usines et Mines"), or Franco-Belgian Mission for the Control of Factories and Mines. Coming also, as this event does, so soon after the death of Hugo Stinnes, it lends especial interest to the fact that, at his express wish, the direction of all his colossal undertakings in the realms of business and finance was left to his widow.

Relief for Jewish students deprived of educational opportunities in Eastern Europe has been afforded by a gift from the City of Danzig of a plot of ground on which a university is to be erected. An additional item of interest to the intellectual world is the recent discovery near Nördlingen, Bavaria, of the remains of thirty-four prehistoric human beings, thought to belong to the Middle Stone Age.

#### AUSTRIA

THE Austrian Parliament accepted the budget of the last three yea on April 8 and passed a resolution by which the Government undertakes to reduce the deficit ical energy has been far as to assure a balancing of receipts and 186,000 horsepower.

expenditures. Divergence of opinion regarding the method of accomplishing this result still continues between the Government and the Commissioner General in charge of Austrian finances under the League of Nations. The Government itself, under pressure from the Socialists, prefers to balance the budget by increasing revenue from heavy taxation, whereas the Commissioner inclines rather to a reduction in public expense and in the burden resting on the taxpayer. That a considerable surplus in the Treasury has made it unnecessary for any instalment from the loan furnished by the League to be paid since the beginning of the present year is a further indication of progress toward stabilization.

Whether an equilibrium in the normal budget can be maintained at figures lower than those now prevailing is the chief economic and political problem which the country has to face. The plight of public officials and their corresponding demand for higher salaries constitute a phase of the problem. Most of them are expected to live on the equivalent of from \$20 to \$30 a month, at a period when prices are rising to a level with those of the world market. Because of his action in dismissing a large number of State employes, the Minister of Retrenchment appointed for the purpose was forced out and his office abolished.

Though speculation in French francs contributed in some measure to a markedly downward movement of prices on the Exchange, a scarcity of capital had much more to do with it. Many owners of stock, hoping for higher dividends abroad, had sold their shares at low rates and, when unable to place their funds to advantage there, bought the shares back at a high premium.

Apart from the situation in the Stock Exchange, Austrian economic conditions have been, on the whole, quite favorable. In the middle of April the number of unemployed (106,000), even if slightly greater than in January, was 20 per cent. less than in the month preceding, and 30 per cent. less than a year ago. Receipts from the railways rose to nearly three times what they were in January, 1923. During the early months of the present year, however, foreign trade showed a considerable decline in exports. This appears to have been due in part to excessive importation at the time when the value of the franc had fallen so low.

One of the most encouraging signs of economic advance is the noteworthy development of the hydraulic resources of the country. In the course of the last three years, and practically without aid from abroad, the supply of this form of mechanical energy has been enlarged to the extent of 186,000 horsepower.

### ITALY

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Associate Professor of Latin, Vassar College

ELECTION CROWD IN ROME GREET-ING MUSSOLINI AFTER THE FAS-CIST VICTORY

Wide World Photos



THE final results of the fifteen election dis- a large band of Fascista militia marched armed tricts of Italy show that the new Chamber of Deputies, which, by the new election law, will hold office for five years, will be composed as follows:

Government Party (Fascisti)37	5
Popular Party (Catholic) 4	0
Constitutional Opposition 1	2
Social Democrats 1	1
Republicans	7
Ethnical Minorities	4
Peasants' Party	
Sardisti	2
Unitarian Socialists 2	
Maximalist Socialists	6
Communists 1	
Communists	

The total vote cast was 63 per cent. of the registration in the electoral lists, as compared to 52 per cent, in the election of 1919 and 58 per cent. in 1921. Of the votes cast, 65 per cent, went to the Fascisti. Among the nineteen parties that divided the Opposition vote, the most successful were the Popular Party with 9 per cent. of the total vote, the Unitarian Socialists with 6 per cent., the Maximalists with 5 per cent. and the Communists with 3.7 per cent. The vote for the Fascisti was especially strong in the country districts and unexpectedly weak in the large industrial cities. In Milan they won only 35 per cent. of the votes, and in Turin only 34 per cent. In Milan the vote of the three Socialist parties amounted to 47 per cent, of the total vote cast. In Naples and the South the vote was generally small, but it went largely to the Fascisti.

Information as to irregularities in the campaign continues to come from Italy. The Fascisti, calling themselves the National Party, made free use of postal facilities in circulating their material, and sent out their announcements through the Agenzia Stefani, the official Italian news agency. They sequestered the material of Opposition parties that was sent through the mail, prevented the holding of meetings, and reserved for themselves the sole right of using the posters which, placarded as they are on every available wall space, are one of the striking features of an Italian election campaign. The streets of the chief cities are said to have been filled with black shirts in the days before the election, and on one occasion

through the streets of Naples-a circumstance, it has been suggested, that may explain the withdrawal of the prominent Neapolitan De Niccola from the Fascista lists.

Illegality in the conduct of the elections was charged in some districts, though not in many. At Sarno ballots that had already been marked for the Fascisti were presented to the voters, and, if they seemed unwilling to use them, the ballots were forcibly consigned to the urns. At Palma Camperia Fascisti who realized the success of the constitutional Opposition attacked the voting booths and destroyed the ballot boxes. The situation at Naples on election day is described as a complete mystification. At Bari charges of irregularity in the count and in the conduct of the election were made and the Opposition appealed to the Court of Appeal to have the election repeated. In general, however, though the Opposition was denied a share in the counting of votes and in the charge of the election booths, there does not seem to be serious doubt of the validity of the Fascisti victory. But the Opposition papers insist that the circumstances of the campaign and the new election law which Mussolini framed to fit the case keep the vote from being a genuine expression of opinion.

The most serious aftermath of the election has been a difference with the Vatican which has destroyed the harmony that every one expected would result in a reconciliation between Church and State. Angered at the success of candidates of the Popular Party, workingmen in the north of Italy destroyed a number of Catholic workingmen's clubhouses. Pope Pius issued an indignant message and sent through Cardinal Gasparri the sum of 500,000 lire to aid in rebuilding the clubhouses. The Fascista press, and particularly the Popolo d'Italia, Mussolini's organ, have commented indignantly on the Pope's large gift and have asserted that the clubs were really political in nature. Yet Mussolini has since made it clear that he means to check the uncontrolled violence of his too zealous supporters. On April 18 the Popolo d'Italia published an article ordering the

Fascisti to desist from purposeless violence. At | Pisa, where an aged typographer who opposed Fascismo was killed, a number of Fascisti, including the President of the Provincial Council, were imprisoned, and in Turin the local Fascista centre was dissolved.

Mussolini's return to Rome on April 11, after the election, was the occasion of a great celebration. The speech he made on the occasion is significant for its emphasis on the future of Rome. "The Rome that we dream of will be not only the live and pulsing centre of a young nation, but the glorious capital of the whole Latin world." On April 21, the day celebrated through the ages as the birthday of Rome, there was an impressive ceremony on Capitoline Hill at which Mussolini received the honorary citizenship of Rome. To avoid the violence that often takes place in Italy on the first of May, the great Socialist day, the birthday of Rome was substituted for May first as the general labor holiday.

French and Italian Communists have made attacks on Fascisti at Nice in Savoy, the province ceded to France by Italy in 1860. A funeral mass held at the Italian church for the Fascista newspaper correspondent Bonservigi, who died from a wound received in a Paris restaurant, was interrupted by the opponents of Fascismo, and seven people were wounded in the disturbance that resulted. Subsequently the Fascista centre in Nice and the Italian consulate were both attacked.

In spite of the new friendship existing between Italy and Yugoslavia, the Croatians are not yet ready to forget their old enemies. At Sebenico a memorial meeting planned on the fifteenth anniversary of the death of Niccolo Tommaseo, Italian scholar and patriot, was prevented by Croatian students from taking place, and rioting and attacks on Italian property ensued. The Government at Belgrade has presented excuses.

Mussolini's plans for the future include an elaborate program of naval defense. Since the fall of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the establishment of friendship with Yugoslavia have diminished the dangers of the Adriatic in time of war, the Mediterranean has become the more important sea for defense. The old naval base at Maddalena in Sardinia is to be abandoned and a new one constructed at Cagliari; later other bases are to be established on neighboring islands. The harbors of Genoa, Naples and the Sicilian coast are also to have new defenses. New cruisers are to be laid down in accordance with the limits allowed by the Washington agreement, and destroyers and small motor boats which can be used in defense against submarines are to be constructed in some numbers. Finally officers and men of the navy are to have an increase in pay and the naval training schools are to be reorganized and equipped.

Mussolini's Government shows itself ready also

the building in Rome of a national lyric theatre to be subsidized by the State. The building, to be erected in the Via Veneto near the Palace of Queen Margherita, will be a splendid structure with the most spacious stage accommodations and seats for 4.000 spectators.

Eleonora Duse, the greatest figure of the Italian stage, and since the death of Sarah Bernhardt incontestably the foremost of living actresses, died at Pittsburgh on April 21, after an illness of two weeks. Attended by every honor that could be bestowed by the official representatives of her native land and by the people of a nation that had shown its deep admiration for her art, her body was taken to New York, and after an impressive service in the Church of St. Vincent Ferrer, was placed on board the S. S. Duilio on May 1.

A musical event of great importance was the première at the Scala in Milan on May, of Boito's posthumous opera, "Nerone." The performance, conducted by Toscanini, was a splendid one, for which all other operas and rehearsals had been given up at the Scala for two weeks. Boito, musician and poet, author of the opera, "Mefistofele" and writer of the librettos of many of Verdi's operas, worked for years on this opera, which, up to his death in 1918, he could never be persuaded to give to the world. Though the opera was received enthusiastically, the opinion of critics seems to be that the music lacks the imagination of Boito's verse.

The University of Naples, founded by Frederick II. in 1224, celebrated its seventh centennial on May 3 and the successive days. The King was present on the first day and received the honorary diploma of the university in Letters and Philosophy. An international congress of philosophers and various national scientific associations took this occasion to meet in Naples. Impressive ceremonies also took place at Pompeii where students in classical costumes sang Horace's Secular Hymn and tried by pageantry to revive some of the ancient glories of the city.

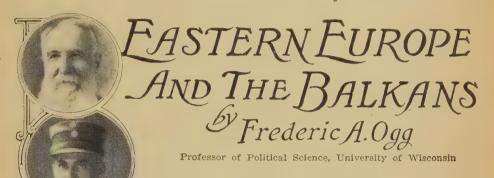
#### THE VATICAN

M UCH interest was aroused early in April by the report that the Pope would go a few steps beyond the limits within which his predecessors have held themselves prisoners since 1870, and attend the dedication of the new welfare building and playground opened by the Knights of Columbus near St. Peter's. A door had actually been cut from Vatican property to the new building, and all preparations were made to receive the Pope, who had shown his desire to honor the American generosity that had provided the building. At the last moment, however, the Pope decided not to be present at the ceremonies, having learned, the official organ to encourage the arts. Plans are under way for of the Vatican declared, that the building was

beyond the precincts of the Vatican. After the! ceremonies the Pope received Mgr. O'Hearn of the American College and several officials of the Knights of Columbus in official audience and conferred a number of Papal decorations.

The rift between State and Vatican that showed signs of healing is greater than ever since the

recent difficulties with the Fascisti. Mussolini's decree that Papal titles of nobility that have been conferred since 1870 are not to be recognized in Italy may create further trouble, though it is noted that the Vatican itself makes great distinctions between the recent titles conferred and the ancient Roman nobility.



Above-PASHITCH: below-PLASTYRAS

#### BULGARIA

INCE the general elections of last November, the overwhelming majority ebtained by Premier Tsankoff's Government in the Sobranje-almost 200 out of a total of 247 seats -has been dwindling, and at the end of March the Deputies still nominally supporting the Democratic entente were asked to make specific declaration of their fidelity, in order that the Premier and his colleagues might know definitely where they stood. Only 135 complied. This was 'a working majority, indeed, but so small as to cause the Government leaders considerable anxiety.

The defection included not only important sections of the Radical and Democratic Parties, but the whole of the Socialist Party. To the general surprise the Socialists, who have about thirty Deputies in the Sobranje, joined the Government bloc after the suppression of the Communist uprising of last September. They have since justified their course on the ground that, as members of the bloc, they were able to soften the methods of suppression adopted by the Tsankoff Cabinet. Be that as it may, they broke with the Government in February when the Cabinet refused to adopt their minimum program of reforms; and from that time to the present they have been in active opposition, demanding new elections under a true system of proportional representation, liberation of political favors freedom of action for the courts. The

prisoners, and re-establishment of liberty of press and assemblage. One of their demands has been partially met by the passage in the Sobranje, on April 25, of a bill extending amnesty to all Communist and Agrarian refugees, except the organizers and leaders of last Autumn's revolt. The number of persons excepted, it is stated, does not exceed forty.

The Government continued its efforts to curb the activities of Macedonian agitators, who apparently hope to create enough trouble between Sofia and Belgrade to cause intervention by the League of Nations, a step which the disturbers seem to think might lead to the setting up of an independent Macedonian State.

The Foreign Minister, M. Kaloff, on April 19 issued a statement asserting that the country's foreign relations had lately undergone great improvement and that, if negotiations then under way with Rumania and other States proved successful, the danger of war in the Balkan portions of Europe would be "averted for many years." He said that the agreement with Yugoslavia was working well; that the negotiations of the mixed commission concerning Greece were "proceeding with excellent prospects of early agreement"; and that, as a defeated country, Bulgaria is especially desirous of earning the sympathy of the great powers which is indispensable to the resumption of her normal national life.

The Ministers of the Stambolisky Cabinet, who were accused of conspiracy and of upholding the late Premier's régime by terrorist methods, were acquitted in the Criminal Court at Sofia' on April 9. The verdict was a general surprise and was interpreted as indicating that the Government

accused claimed, in their defense, that their methods were adopted by express order of Stambolisky and Daskaloff.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE Deputies chosen, three weeks previously, at the first general elections held in the Ruthenian districts of Czechoslovakia, were forreally received in the National Assembly at Lugue on April 8. The long-standing complaint of the people of the territory named on the score of their non-representation has thus been met; although there are other surviving causes of dissatisfaction. The political and linguistic heterogeneity of the population appears from the fact that candidates of as many as thirteen parties contested for the eight seats; that the Deputies elected represented five parties, and that three took the oath in Little Russian, two in Magyar, one in Russian, one in Slovak and one in Czech.

President Masaryk, after paying a visit to his daughter in Montreux, Switzerland, went to Italy at the beginning of May, ostensibly for the sake of his health. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Benès, went to the same country soon afterward, in quest, it is commonly understood, of a treaty. At the end of April it was announced that Dr. Benès would visit the United States in midsummer, following a conference of the Little Entente States at Prague in early July. It is understood that his principal purpose is to discuss with President Coolidge and other members of the United States Government certain ideas which he has developed concerning the best modes of guaranteeing international peace; and it is known that foremost among these ideas is an international guarantee treaty, to be signed by all States which are signatories of the treaties establishing the new frontiers of Europe-a treaty of such character that these States would gain enough of a sense of security to incline them to go into an early agreement for a reduction of

The months of March and April saw a marked improvement in Czechoslovakia's export trade and a more favorable bank return, and Dr. Kurel Englis, ex-Minister of Finance, has declared that the country is now in the "final stage of the deflation crisis," with confidence steadily growing in the success of the stabilization of the exchange rate of the crown.

#### GREECE

THE long-heralded plebiscite of April 13 yielded a vote of 758,742 in favor of the establishment of a republic and 325,322 for the

Premier Papanastasion and his associates in the Cabinet officially notified all foreign powers of the creation of the republic and of the appointment of Admiral Kounduriotis (who had been serving as Regent) as Provisional President. In Athens and Piraeus the monarchists were overwhelmed, obtaining only 33,000 votes to 103,000 for the republic. In Macedonia, Thrace, Mitylene and Chios, the republican cause was victorious by even wider margins. On the other hand, the Peloponnesus returned a monarchist majority, as did also the Cyclades and Ionian Islands. It is generally recognized that the polling was conducted fairly and that the result was a genuine expression of the public will. Monarchists complained of scattered instances of coercion, but, on the whole, they accepted their defeat with good grace and admitted that they had misinterpreted the popular desire.

With a view to maintaining order, martial law was at once proclaimed throughout the country and a censorship was placed upon royalist newspapers, and on April 22, after an all-night sitting, the Cabinet issued a decree forbidding, for a period of ten years, any propaganda in favor of the abolished monarchy. Offenders are to be tried by a special military court in Athens, and are liable to punishment by imprisonment, banishment, fine or, in the case of newspapers, suspension. The immediate arrest, however, of certain royalist editors by General Pangalos, Minister of Public Safety, was regarded by the republican Cabinet as unfortunate, and Premier Papanastasion not only ordered the release of the men, but redoubled his efforts to bring about a general reconciliation.

The establishment of a republic entails some changes in the national Constitution. It is intended that the existing Cabinet system, modeled somewhat upon the French system, shall continue, and the only amendments that are required are such as will provide for the mode of election, term, qualifications and powers of the President--unless, as is considered probable, it is decided to substitute for the present unicameral National Assembly a Parliament organized on the bicameral principle. The formation of an upper chamber would offer a serious problem, for there are no States to be represented as in a Federal system, the peerage was abolished in 1921 and the clergy take little or no part in politics. Meanwhile a President of the republic is to be elected by the National Assembly or, at all events, by the reconstructed Parliament; and although it was reported on April 28 that ex-Premier Venizelos, who has fully recovered from his recent illness, may be a candidate, it has been rather commonly understood that the office will go to ex-Premier Zaimis. Recognition of the new régime has been retention of a monarchy, and on April 15 extended by several States. Turkey was one of

the first to act; and Great Britain granted recognition on April 23.

It was announced from Washington on April 8 by John Barton Payne, Chairman of the Red Cross, that this organization has contributed a total of \$2,705,696.09 for the aid of destitute Greek refugees since the burning of Smyrna and that almost 800,000 people have been helped. On leaving Greece, after having successfully launched the League of Nations' project to establish a million refugees on Greek soil, Henry Morgenthau made known that as a mark of esteem for American democracy, Greece, the youngest republic in the world, is willing to lend to the American people, for a time, one of her most treasured works of art-"Hermes Carrying the Infant Dionysius," the masterpiece of the fourthcentury sculptor, Praxiteles. It was proposed that the statue, which at present reposes in the museum at Olympia, be brought to the United States on a battleship and, placed safely aboard a specially constructed railway car, be taken to all parts of the country for public exhibition. The project has already encountered both Greek and American opposition based on the danger of damage to one of the world's great masterpieces.

#### HUNGARY

THE League of Nations' plan for the rehabilitation of Hungarian finances was, from the first, conditioned upon enactment by the national Parliament of a number of reform measures. On April 18, after prolonged night sittings and a sharp contest between Premier Bethlen and the Socialist Opposition, the bills became law. Briefly, they provide for: (1) Ratification of the two protocols of the League of Nations on the subject of Hungarian reconstruction; (2) full powers for the present Government and its successors to apply the measures described in the first protocol and its annexes concerning reduction of expenses and increase of receipts; (3) the establishment of a national bank of issue; (4) authorization to contract a loan of 250,000,000 gold crowns to cover budget deficits until 1926, and (5) agreements with France, Italy and Czechoslovakia regarding pre-war debts.

The Opposition contended that in the execution of the reform scheme Hungary is called upon to make too many economic and political sacrifices. But Bethlen urged that the country might expect from the plan a stabilization of the crown, the restoration of a balanced budget, an increased interest in Hungary on the part of foreign capital, improvement of trade and sundry other benefits. He urged, too, that the scheme would not enable the League to intermeddle generally in the country's purely internal affairs or prevent a return to a normal situation in its foreign relations.

The pessimism prevailing in Hungary, even after the passage of the reform bills, was largely

dispelled when it became known that the American Commissioner General, Jeremiah Smith of Boston, had arrived in Europe and would soon take up his task. After visiting London, Paris and Geneva, Mr. Smith appeared at Budapest on May 1. His reception was cordial, and ample quarters for himself and staff were promptly assigned in the left wing of the Royal Palace, with offices also in the Ministry of Finance. At the time of his arrival the domestic situation was unusually disturbed on account of strikes which, among other things, had prevented the publication of newspapers in the capital for more than a fortnight.

The American Debt Commission on April 25 completed a settlement for funding the Hungarian debt to the United States, and President Coolidge immediately sent the agreement to Congress for ratification. The settlement, which covers the first of the relief loans made by the United States, provides for repayment of the \$1,939,753, principal and interest, over a sixty-two-year period. Cash payment of \$753 is arranged and the remainder will be retired in annual instalments with interest at 3 per cent. over the first ten years and 31/2 per cent. thereafter. With a view to clearing the way for the proposed foreign loan, the agreement gives the American Secretary of the Treasury authority to release Hungarian national assets from the priority of a first lien by the United States, provided other nations holding Hungarian obligations act likewise.

#### POLAND

THE situation between Poland and Lithuania, ostensibly adjusted by the Memel settlement in favor of Lithuania, continues to be strained, and at the middle of April a special subcommittee was set up by the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee to occupy itself, among other things, with the danger of warlike complications.

Poland sent a note to the Conference of Ambassadors on April 7 protesting against the acceptance by that body of the recommendations of the committee headed by Norman Davis in regard to Memel. The note asserts that the convention drawn up by Mr. Davis does not guarantee the rights assured to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles and by the Conference of Ambassadors. In his speech before the Diet, Count Zamoyski, Foreign Minister, opposed the Davis plan, which he said, does not prevent Lithuania from virtually closing Memel to Polish merchants by prohibiting rail, postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication. The Minister added that the Lithuanian Government has declared it is in a state of war with Poland, and denies permission to Polish citizens to enter Lithuania, also refusing to give Lithuanian citizens passports to Poland.

Outside of this, the country's foreign relations

sioner Hanecki-Furstenberg visited Warsaw in April and conferred with the Foreign Minister on the subject of a commercial treaty, and the report gained credence that in the event of a Russian attempt to recapture Bessarabia, Poland would refuse to support Rumania, notwithstanding the persistent effort of France to induce the Warsaw Government to make a public declaration to the contrary. The Polish authorities desire to restore economic relations with Russia at the earliest possible moment.

The Socialist Party has been gaining strength in the country, but its bitter opposition did not avail to prevent passage by the Sejm (lower branch of parliament) of a bill establishing compulsory military service, the period with the colors to be two years; graduates of high schools or other secondary institutions, however, will serve only eighteen months. With a view to counterbalancing the advancing Socialist strength, a new party has been organized under the title of National Christian Union. Its President is Archbishop Ropp, and it is expected to play a rôle somewhat similar to that of the Popular Catholic Party in Italy. In Parliament it has affiliated with the Centre.

Subscription lists of the Bank of Poland were closed on March 31 and early in April the Government announced that the entire capital stock, 1,000,000 shares selling at 100 zloty a share, had been subscribed by the public. On April 28 the Bank of Poland began operations under the management chosen at the general stockholders' meeting on April 15. The Bank of Poland operates

have steadily improved. The Russian Commis- under a charter from the Government giving it a monopoly of the right to issue currencies secured by gold and foreign moneys. The currency is issued in zloty, which after June 30 becomes the sole legal money of Poland. The action is said to mean a recovery of substantial size to Americans who bought Polish Government bonds after

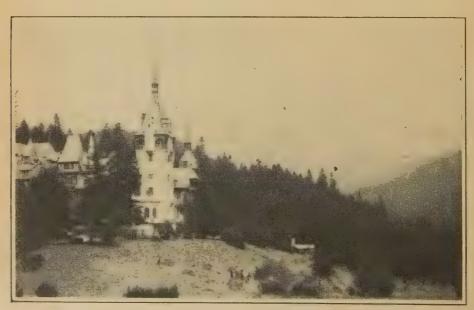
> Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Grabski announced on April 28 that the Government budget for the month of March showed a surplus of revenues over expenses amounting to 10,000,-000 gold francs.

> Two French firms have been awarded a contract for the construction of the port of Gdynia, in the extreme western corner of Danzig Bay, in the "Polish corridor."

> Ragged and worn, the much persecuted Archbishop Zepliak, head of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, arrived at Warsaw on April 13, on his way to Rome to report to Pope Pius regarding Russian conditions. He was received with much acclaim, and was showered with gifts before his departure.

#### RUMANIA

K ING FERDINAND and Queen Marie, accompanied by Foreign Minister Duca and a considerable party, left Bucharest on April 5 for a round of visits to Western capitals, having as their main objective the building up of a more favorable international attitude toward Rumania at a juncture when the country is threatened with a Russian war over the Bessarabian question.



The Summer home of the Rumanian royal family at Sinai, in the foothills of the Car-pathian Mountains

Rome and Madrid were to have been visited, as well as Paris, Brussels and London. Premier Mussolini, however, having just concluded a treaty with Russia, and being displeased by the non-redemption of Rumanian Treasury bonds held by Italian subjects, asked that the trip to Rome be "postponed"; and the Madrid Government, whose foreign policy has lately been much influenced by Italy, followed suit. Accordingly, only Paris, Brussels and London were left on the list. At Paris the royal party was received with a display of diplomatic and military splendor not witnessed there on a similar occasion since the last visit of Edward VII., and it was forthwith announced that a defensive treaty was in the making, on the same general lines as the Franco-Czechoslovak treaty concluded after the visit of President Masaryk and Premier Benès to the French capital last year.

Since the collapse of the Russo-Rumanian conference at Vienna on April 2, before a single agreed subject of discussion had been touched, the prospect of serious trouble over Bessarabia has hung over Rumania like a cloud. Each disputant believes that the other is mobilizing troops and otherwise preparing for war.

Twelve conventions, including a commercial treaty insuring most-favored-nation treatment, have been signed with Hungary. The Crown Prince on April 15 formally opened the International Congress in Bucharest, which drew to the capital a distinguished assembly of diplomats and delegates from the leading educational institutions of Europe.

Economic conditions throughout Rumania are improving. The Government plans extensive developments, chief of which is a project, now before the Legislative Assemblies, to produce 1,000,000 horsepower by the control of water falls.

#### YUGOSLAVIA

URING recent weeks Yugoslavia has passed through one of the most critical periods since the founding of the kingdom; political coups giving the majority in the Chamber of Deputies to the Opposition have twice forced the resignation of Premier Pashitch. Developments centred about the manipulation of the Croatian Peasants' Party by the Opposition. The Peasants' body, which previously had withheld from participation in the Government, was persuaded in March to send sufficient Deputies to give the Opposition a majority; as a result the Premier resigned on March 24. At the request of King Alexander, M. Pashitch reorganized his Government, obtaining a majority once more by the defection from the ranks of the Opposition of sixteen Democrats; the Secessionists were rewarded with four important Cabinet portfolios, that of Public Instruction being given to M. Pribitchevitch, insurgent leader. The Op- address was loudly applauded.



Keystone

STEPHEN RADITCH Leader of the Croat Nationalists

position countered with additional Peasant Deputies and again secured a majority. Parliamentary session which continued uninterruptedly for three days and two nights, M. Pashitch again resigned on April 12; the Parliament adjourned simultaneously, leaving the issue in the hands of the King.

After the second resignation of the Pashitch. Government, King Alexander continued to confer with the leading politicians with a view to finding a solution of the crisis. This, however, proved unusually difficult, as party feeling ran very high and no tendency toward compromise was visible in either camp. The situation was somewhat improved by the advent of the Easter holidays, first the Catholic and then the Orthodox, which served to divert public attention from politics and to relax the pressure.

M. Liouba Davidovitch, leader of the Democratic Party, and a number of his leading supporters went on April 21 to Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, to address a large political meeting. So large was the crowd, estimated at over 3,000 persons, that the meeting had to be held in the open air. M. Davidovitch was given a most enthusiastic reception from the inhabitants of Zagreb and his

In the meantime the Government consented to | Government to M. Davidovitch, as, without the call together the Parliament for May 3. This meeting demonstrated that the position of the Pashitch Government had become completely untenable. As a consequence King Alexander sent for M. Pashitch and proposed to him that he should reconstruct his Government on broader lines, making it a Cabinet of concentration, in which parties other than the Radicals and the dissident Domecrats would be represented. M. Pashitch, a few days later (May 7), informed the King that he had no hope of success in this direction.

The long duration of the crisis as well as its intensity throws a great burden on King Alexander, as it is to him that the parties look to find a solution. He must, first and foremost, show no signs of political partisanship. For this reason there are grave grounds why he should not entrust M. Pashitch with a decree of dissolution of the Parliament, as the Opposition would protest violently against a Government now in minority remaining in power during the appeal to the people. At the same time it is difficult to entrust the

support of the Croatian Peasants' Party, he, too, is in a minority in the Parliament.

On the other hand, it is difficult to place confidence in the support of the followers of M. Raditch. Beyond the fact that they have at last consented to cease their boycott of the Belgrade Parliament and to take their seats, their aims and aspirations remain obscure. M. Raditch, to the great embarrassment of his Democratic allies, changes his views constantly, and there is no guarantee that he might not, at any moment, turn against his present allies.

Despite the governmental upheavals, considerable administrative work was accomplished, notably the territorial arrangement by which Rumania evacuated numerous Yugoslavian villages and two islands in the Danube. Charges by Yugoslavia that the evacuation was marked by plundering on the part of the Rumanians resulted in the appointment of a Yugoslav-Rumanian Commission to fix the amount of compensation for the losses suffered by citizens of Yugoslavia.



# USSIA Petrunkevitch



TCHITCHERIN

#### RUSSIA

NE of the most important events which have recently taken place in Russia and which almost threatened to assume international proportions is the so-called trial of the Kiev professors. On April 8 M. Poincaré, the French Premier, sent the following wireless message to Foreign Minister Tchitcherin of Soviet Russia:

French public opinion, sharing the sentiments of university and scientific circles, is following with anxiety the proceedings of the Kiev trial and fears that the capital penalty may fall upon professors, whose loss would be sadly felt as diminishing the world's intellectual patrimony. In the name of science, in the name of the rights of man, the French university men demand that their Russian colleagues be saved from a fate they have not deserved. In the name of civilization and humanity, the French Government adds its earnest desires to those of scholars all over the world.

, To this message Tchitcherin sent an answer

in unusually strong language, calling it an "intervention in Russian affairs on behalf of persons whom the French had the best opportunity to know were guilty, because they were working for the French Secret Service," and speaking of it, further on, as a "manifestly unfriendly act which is the culmination of a long series of acts against Soviet Russia, such as ratification of the Rumanian seizure of Bessarabia, opposition to Russia in Chinese affairs, and so forth." He concluded his message by a direct reminder to France that Russia is now a factor to be reckoned with in world affairs and with the threat that this factor would be thrown into the anti-French balance.

The names of the eighteen defendants themselves are very little known outside of Russia, although these men are well respected in Kiev. They include seven professors, a magazine writer, a former District Attorney, and a former Assistant District Attorney, a young woman clerk

in the Kiev Zemskaya Ouprava (Land Department) and a girl student of the local university. Associated with these are a few figures of a very uncertain character, one among them, Oniszenko-Pavluk, apparently a professional agent-provocateur. The accusation is divided into three parts: (1) That the accused were engaged in counter-revolutionary activities and organized for this purpose a "district centre of activities"; that they strove to destroy the dictatorship of the Communist Party through a democratization of the Soviets; that they were engaged in a struggle for the introduction into Russia of a general secret and equal ballot, and for the establishment of a rule by the people; and that they helped to revive the activity of anti-Communistic organizations; (2) that the accused kept up a secret correspondence with immigrants, sent articles for publication in the magazine Nov, published outside of the Russian borders, and that they helped to distribute copies of the magazine in Russia; (3) that the accused were furnishing secret military information to Poland.

The accusation of espionage was hotly denied by most of the accused. The sincerity of some was admitted even by the correspondent of Izvestiya, who mentions it particularly in the case of the girl student Oberouchev, whom he terms a Turgenev type. All the accused were against any military intervention, and even in favor of the recognition of the Soviet Government, the strength of which they freely admitted, but whose methods they bitterly criticized. A few lines from the cross-examination of Miss Oberouchev may explain their position clearer than anything else:

A.—I am for democracy, for freedom of speech and of the press. Yet this does not mean that I belong to any organization whose program includes these principles. Q.—Do you desire freedom of speech and press for monarchists also?

A.—Yes, for them, too, I am against dictatorship and believe in equality of rights. Q.—By what means do you strive to attain your ideals?

your ideals?

A.—Through freedom of the press.
Q.—Don't you know that in our proletarian republic there is no freedom of the press?
A.—This is exactly the reason why people are forced to write illegally.

Another of the accused, Miss Vinogradov, the clerk of the Zemskaya Ouprava, to a question implying that she did not recognize the Soviet Government, made the following answer: "That is not true. I recognize the Soviet Government, but I believe that it has not attained its final form. The Soviet Government should be more democratic." Professor Vasilenko, in a long speech in which he tried to explain his position, pointed out that he saw salvation for Russia only in the freedom of the press and the rule of the people. Professor Chebakov made an almost identical answer, stating that he was in favor of freedom of the press and of organiza-



FELIX DZERZHINSKY President of the Supreme Council of National Economy of Russia since February, 1924

tions that have no criminal purpose. Professor Cholgansky expressed his belief that universal ballot should be granted in Russia. When asked by the District Attorney whether, in his opinion, a leaseholder of 200 factories should also have the right of vote, the accused replied that he certainly should, inasmuch as the Soviet Government recognizes the right of leaseholding.

The documents which have been discovered in the possession of the organization were declared by military experts to be strictly secret ones, representing a part of the plan of mobilization of the Kiev military district for 1922, and could be of great use to a foreign Government in case of war. After eighteen days of deliberation the revolutionary tribunal on April 9 sentenced Chebakov, Yakovlev, Edinevsky and Vinogradov to death, six of the accused to ten years' imprisonment each, and the others to prison terms ranging from five to seven years each. One, Yazlovsky, was acquitted.

From the proceedings of this trial it seems to be clear that the majority of the accused were victims of the machinations of unscrupulous individuals who used them as dupes in their treasonable transactions. The trial has revealed anew the deep cleft between the ruling Russian party and the people, and has shown more clearly than anything else could that the ideals of freedom, equality and justice are not in the minds of the rulers of Russia.

Interesting data concerning the number of crimes committed during the past year in Russia are contained in the report of the Moscow District Attorney, Sheverdin. There were seven criminal cases for each thousand of the population of the republic, twenty for the Province of Moscow and fifty-five for the City of Moscow. At the same time the Leningrad Commission for Minors reported 2.639 cases of crimes committed by children from 9 to 16 years of age. Thirtytwo per cent, of the crimes committed were for theft.

At the Moscow district meeting of physicians, Dr. Bashenin, Acting President of the Bureau of the All-Russian Medical Section, pointed out the necessity of reducing the number of medical schools. According to him, the republic cannot support more than 3,000 physicians per year, while many more graduate every year, thus considerably increasing the number of unemployed physicians. In the near future it is intended to close the medical schools at the Universities of Yaroslov, Samara, Perm and other cities.

In the district of Novo-Zybkovsk, Province of Chernigov, disturbances among the peasants have taken place in connection with a campaign for the raising of contributions for the international society for the aid of the revolution. More than a thousand peasants, on March 20, are reported to have plundered the Communist offices and club. It is stated that eighteen members of the Communist Party were maltreated by the crowd. On April 23 six Finns were condemned to death by a Soviet war tribunal at Leningrad for alleged espionage. At Odessa the trial of Mgr. Procopius, Bishop of Kershon, began on April 27. The Bishop is accused of having morally and materially supported General Denikin in 1919, and of having opposed the requisition of church treasures in 1921.

According to the Izvestiya, Metropolitan Evdokim, President of the Holy Synod, has pointed out that Patriarch Tikhon is not an actual, but an ex-Patriarch, is at present only a private citizen under the name of Mr. Belavin, and as such has no right either to govern or to give orders. The Metropolitan pointed out further on that the Soviet Government showed humane tenderness in releasing the former Patriarch and allowing him to remain at liberty.

Leon Trotsky is reported to be back at work in Moscow. In an eloquent denunciation of the presumptive military plans of the United States, he exhorted his listeners to picture the United States "sending to famine-stricken revolutionary Europe whole squadrons of airplanes which threaten to rain noxious gases upon our heads." This may sound ridiculous to American ears, but we must discount its influence upon the

manity who, having created a first class Red army out of the remnants of the revolutionary deserters, now heralds that "war must be eradicated entirely, but not by such extreme measures. It can be done only by the annihilation of capitalistic society."

According to a report published in the Izvestiva, a myth has sprung up in Russia regarding Lenin's death. The peasants believe that a painted wooden effigy of Lenin was buried in Lenin's stead and that Lenin himself is still alive and traveling through Russia studying the needs of the peasants.

#### THE BALTIC STATES

ATIONALS of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania gathered on March 31 at the Marylebone Presbyterian Church in London to celebrate the completion of six years of freedom. The British Prime Minister sent them sympathetic and cordial greetings by telegraph.

After a fortnight's crisis a new coalition Government of Esthonia was formed by Dr. Ackel. The members of his Cabinet are:

M. STRANDMANN—Foreign Affairs.
M. RIUK—Interior

M. STRANDMANN—Foreign Affairs.
M. Riuk—Interior.
M. Amberg—War.
M. Rachamjagi—Education.
M. Karam—Social Welfare.
M. Bars—Finance and Commerce.
M. Kerem—Agriculture.
M. Gabrel—Justice.
M. Kark—Communications.

According to an announcement of the Esthonian Consulate of New York City, the Esthonian Industrial Fair will be held in Tallin (Reval) from June 14 to June 25, 1924. Foreign manufacturers may also participate with their prod-

Negotiations between Latvia and Russia relative to the proposals of M. W. Kopp, representative of the Russian Soviet Government, for the conclusion of a treaty of amity and mutual guarantees, are in progress; an agreement has been reached on all fundamental principles, but no decision has yet been made with regard to a tribunal for arbitration.

On April 8, Premier Zamuels, who had also held the office of Minister of Justice, resigned the latter post, which has been assumed by M. J. Arais.

According to an announcement of the Consulate of Latvia of New York City the success of the agricultural reform in Latvia is evidence by the increase in acreage of crops as compared with pre-war figures. The motor plow, which was practically unknown before the war, has been successfully introduced into Latvia. At the end of 1923, 127 tractors were in use in addition to 929 complete and 369 single thrashing mauneducated supporters of this champion of hu- chines, 474 traction engines and 55 wind turbines.



## THER \ Professor of History, University of Virginia

#### SPAIN

THE Count de Romanones has predicted the early end of the Military Directory. This gives point to a cartoon by Luis Bagaria entitled "The Tutenkhamons of Spain," in which Romanones and a number of other former Spanish Prime Ministers are depicted as mummies, all in a row, waiting to be brought to light again. Another picture by the same cartoonist shows Mussolini murmuring to Primo de Rivera that his most difficult task is to get Italian macaroni imported into foreign countries, while Rivera replies that Spaniards, being fed on illusions, need no macaroni.

Perhaps they would have fewer illusions if the cenorship on news from Morocco did not cause people to swallow whatever tales trickle in through the foreign press. After a relative calm in Morocco there are signs that Abd-el-Krim and his Riff tribesmen are renewing their activity. · Individual Spanish soldiers have been killed, and convoys have been looted by followers of Raisuli.

The London Times gives a summary of a clandestinely circulated document in the Catalan language telling how Rivera called before him twenty prominent Catalans and requested them to sign a manifesto condemning Separatism and pledging him support. When the Marquis de Camps, spokesman for the Catalans, asked whether Catalonia would be granted the privileges enjoyed by Biscay and Navarre, Rivera answered "No." Therefore all the Catalans refused to sign the manifesto. The heavy taxation which they have to bear in behalf of the agricultural parts of Spain makes them cling to their language and flag. Catalan extremists think that nothing has helped their cause in twenty years so much as the episode just narrated. Even a Moderate is quoted as saying: "If the Directory were to fall tomorrow, all Catalonia would fly the Catalan flag, and the men who today serve the Directory in Catalonia would be accused as traitors to the cause of Catalonia." Meantime, Professor Masso Llorens, Deputy for Barcelona, has requested the League of Nations to intervene to settle the differences between Catalonia and the press in the issuance of bank notes.

Central Government of Spain. Rivera, however, claims that the majority of Catalans, as of other Spaniards, are satisfied with the present Government, which enables them to go to work daily without fear of being shot down by strikers and other lawless persons. On April 13 the Dictator strongly defended his administration against "unknown defamers who cast calumnies upon the Government from abroad" in a speech that was broadcast by radio.

According to The London Morning Post, eleven civilians were to be appointed Governors of Spanish provinces on April 11, the others later. is regarded as the first actual step toward the re-establishment of normal constitutional condi-

A company capitalized at a million pesetas has been organized for the installation of a telephone system like the American. It will be under governmental supervision, though privately owned and operated, and will be managed by the military authorities in time of war.

#### PORTUGAL

N April 28 the Portuguese Parliament increased the import duty on tobacco by 20 per cent. This is in line with the movement toward a restoration of financ ( stability in Portugal which is described by a writer in the Paris Temps of March 27. Like Andree Viollis, this writer attributes Portugal's financial difficulties chiefly to the burdens of the World War. To play her part in that struggle, Portugal incurred heavy expenses, accompanied by loans, inflation and depreciation of the currency, rise in the cost of living, and increasing deficits in the national budget. When the war ended, national solidarity was succeeded, as elsewhere, by the strife of parties and petty factional politics. Things continued to go from bad to worse until finally the Government awoke to the fact that the dismissal of useless officials, the curtailment of needless expenses, the increase of taxes and the balancing of budgets are wiser financial expedients than excessive activity of the printing

#### SWITZERLAND

THE tempest in a teapot aroused by the shout: "Down with Mussolini!" by a drunken Swiss soldier, as his regiment was passing an Italian frontier station, has subsided. The challenge to a duel sent by Lieutenant Gavani of Milan to Colonel Gusser, commanding the Swiss regiment, will not result in bloodshed, as dueling is strictly forbidden in the Swiss Army.

The year 1923 brought business improvement to Switzerland, although exports are still much behind those of pre-war times. The excess of imports over exports amounted to 23.53 per cent. Imports of wheat, sugar, tobacco, coal, benzine and timber were all large.

The Swiss Government during the economic crisis expended 490,000,000 francs in doles to the

unemployed.

On July 4 the beautiful Quai Mont-Blanc, flanking the Rhone near its entrance into the lake, will be solemnly renamed the Quai President Wilson, and a commemoration tablet will be dedicated. School children, divided into fifty-four groups representing the nations that are members of the League of Nations, will march through the streets. Each group will be clad in national costume and will carry American flags.

There will be a daily air service from Lausanne to Geneva and thence to Lyons from May 15 till Sept. 15.

#### HOLLAND

THE number of unemployed declined from 98,718 on Feb. 16 to 72,978 on March 29, while the March figures for both exports and imports show a slight increase over those for February. The Government has floated a new fifty-year loan for 85,000,000 florins, and the business outlook is much more favorable.

#### DENMARK

THE defeat of the Conservative and Liberal Government in the recent parliamentary elections was no surprise, but nobody expected the Liberals to sustain the whole loss. Although the Laborites cast only 38 per cent. of the votes, no other party cast as many, and no other party elected as many members of the Folketing as they did. Premier Neergaard, who has held office since 1920, resigned with his Cabinet, and King Christian has accepted the Socialist, Theodore Stauning, as Premier. All the members of the Cabinet, which includes a woman and three newspaper editors, are Socialists (Laborites) except Count Carl Moltke, the Foreign Minister, once Minister of Denmark to the United States. The Laborites had in their platform a demand for a capital levy. with fortunes as low as 50,000 kronen included in the scheme. When the Rigsdag opened on

April 29, Premier Stauning, after reading the King's speech, omitted to wind up with the customary "Long live the King and Constitution!" Another Labor member, however, shouted: "Long live Denmark!"

In addition to the air traffic between Copenhagen and Hamburg, a service between the Danish capital and Rotterdam has been established, to connect with the Rotterdam London route. Mails between England and Denmark will go this way.

#### NORWAY

THE distinctive feature of the prohibition situation in Norway has been, it is stated by a recent observer, the foreign complications to which prohibition has led. The Norwegian law originally prohibited spirits, wine containing more than 12 per cent. alcohol, and beer. Beer, however, was soon allowed again. About this time the existing commercial treaties with France, Spain and Portugal lapsed; and in the new treaty with France Norway agreed to admit wines containing 14 per cent. alcohol. Thereupon Spain and Portugal, some of whose wines contain as much as 21 per cent., brought pressure to bear upon Norway by laying heavy duties upon Norwegian goods. The Catholic population of those two countries eat large quantities of Norwegian klippfisk (dried cod) on fast days. By putting almost prohibitive taxes upon this and other Norwegian goods, Spain and Portugal pushed Norway to the wall. Portugal also enormously increased the dues paid by Norwegian ships en-tering Portuguese harbors. The result was that Norway has admitted wines. Moreover, a bill was introduced in the Storthing on March 25 to repeal the law prohibiting spirits and replace it by a Government monopoly of imported spirits, with provision for local option. On April 1 the Storthing rejected the Socialist Party's proposal that the prohibition question be decided by a referendum.

Sixty per cent. of the world's whale fishing is done by Norwegians, and the Christiania correspondent of The London Morning Post estimates the yield this season at 70,000,000 crowns. Nearly the entire output was sold to America.

The Norwegian Moderate Labor Party has rejected the proposal of the Red Labor group (which recognizes the Third International) for a coalition in the October parliamentary elections. It has, however, invited the Reds and the Social-Democrats to attend a conference looking toward the possible union of the three parties on the basis of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" without allegiance to any international.

The number of unemployed in Norway fell from 20,100 on Feb. 25 to 19,500 on March 25.

Roald Amundsen arrived in Berlin on April 13. Lieutenant Davison, U. S. N., was then still in Pisa, conducting further trial flights of the planes. The funds for a third plane (a Dornier Whale) have been furnished, at Mussolini's request, by the Italian Government.

#### SWEDEN

THE most important issue now before the Swedish Riksdag is the bill to recognize the national military forces. Both the Government, which is Conservative, and the Agricultural Party, favor reduction to approximately one-half of the present war strength; the Extreme Right wants the reduction limited to about three-quarters; the Liberals wish the forces cut to about one-third, and the Social-Democrats, to about one-fourth of the present strength.

The Swedish Match Corporation becomes the largest industrial concern in Scandinavia, following a recent decision to double the capital stock, thus making it 180,000,000 kroner, or about \$48,000,000. The corporation is about to build four new factories in India. At present one-third of all the matches in the world are manufactured by this corporation.

Gold redemption of notes was resumed by the Riksbank of Sweden on April 1, after a suspension of several years. The expected rush did not materialize, and on the first day the issue of gold amounted to only \$160 more than the receipts. The Riksbank on April 1 held more than \$22,000,000 worth of Swedish gold currency and nearly \$32,000,000 worth of unminted gold and currency of other lands. Further evidence of national prosperity is contained in the annual report for 1923 of the Postal Savings Bank of Sweden. The bank announces a gain of 5,000 depositors, the total being 626,000. The deposits aggregated \$36,040,000, while the net profit to the State was \$314,900.

Wide interest has greeted the announcement that Henry Ford will establish an assembling and distributing plant in Stockholm. This large centre will supply cars to Finland, the Baltic republics, and Russia, as well as Sweden, where there are already 20,000 of these machines.

Archbishop Soederbom of Sweden, after a two months' lecture tour in the United States, gives

his impressions of America in the Stockholms-Tidningen. He remarks that, while "in principle" we have abolished the saloon (which, he says, has disappeared from Sweden since the manufacture and sale of liquors ceased to be a private enterprise), he found it doing business openly in many American cities. He does not think it advisable for Sweden to adopt prohibition.

As a result of the rapid motorizing of the Swedish merchant marine, accompanied by the rapid disappearance of sailing vessels, it is stated that Sweden has the largest fleet of merchant motor vessels in the world. The M. S. Gripsholm, now building in England for the Swedish-American Line, will, when launched this year, be the greatest passenger motorship in the world, with a length of 575 feet, a beam of 74 feet, a displacement of 23,000 tons, and accommodations for 1,661 passengers.

Preparations are being made for regular air traffic from Stockholm to the East, and a committee is now discussing the aerial transport of mails from Stockholm to Helsingfors and further East.

#### FINLAND

THE Parliamentary elections, held on April 1 and 2, resulted in a loss of two members by the Left Wing, which is composed of Social Democrats and Communists; the radicals, however, retained their majority. The new Parliament stands: Swedish People's Party, 23; National Coalition Party, 38, totaling 61 for the Right Wing; Farmers' League, 44; National Progressive Party, 17, totaling 61 for the Centre; Social Democrats, 60; Communists, 18, totaling 78 for the Left Wing out of the aggregate 200 mem-The Communists lost nine members, of whom seven are replaced by Social Democrats and one each by adherents of the Right Wing and the Centre. On May 1, Parliament assembled and elected M. Kyosti Kallio, former Prime Minister, as Chairman. Mr. Kallio is the leader of the Farmers' Union Party. Dr. Paavo Virkkunen of the National Coalition Party was chosen for First Vice Chairman, and Vaino Vuolijoki of the Socialist Party was elected Second Vice Chairman.



#### TURKEY

R. MARY MILLS PATRICK has resigned the Presidency of the American College for Girls at Constantinople, commonly known as the Constantinople Woman's College, Dr. Patrick has been serving in educational work in Turkey continuously since 1871. Her first station was at Erzerum, where she became acquainted with the native languages and translated certain English textbooks into Armenian. She was then transferred to Constantinople to become principal of the American Home School in the Asiatic suburb of Scutari. She carried forward the standard of the school until it became a college, which was incorporated in 1890 in Massachusetts as the American College for Girls. She has been its President since the beginning. Immediately before the World War the college was removed to the European side of the Bosporus, where handsome and substantial new buildings had been constructed under American supervision upon a superb site above the village of Arnaoutkeuy. At that time Dr. Patrick was presented by the Turkish Government with the Imperial Order of the Shefakat, in recognition of her services as educator of women in Turkey. She has since carried the college safely through the troubled period of war and armistice. Dr. Patrick has written many articles on the education of women in Turkey and has found time to prepare a book on certain Greek philosophers and on the poetess Sapho. Miss Kathryn Newell Adams, a graduate of Oberlin and Radcliffe, has been appointed to succeed Dr. Patrick. She will be inaugurated at Constantinople on June 9. The college has in attendance at present more than 350 students. A medical department was lately opened in the newly completed Mary Payne Bingham Medical Building, which constitutes the fifth to be completed in a group of seven connected units. In the middle of April the local authorities closed this department under orders from Angora. This action is consistent with other orders of the Turkish Government during recent months as regards medical work. Previous issues of Current History have mentioned the closing of American hospitals in Turkey and the refusal to grant licenses to American phy-

sicians or to recognize licenses which have been issued since 1914.

The campaign of the Turkish Ministry of Education against schools, both native and foreign, which make religion a primary element in their instruction, is continuing. On April 7 all the French and Italian schools in Constantinople and Anatolia were closed. The Government had specified that all religious books and emblems should be removed from rooms used for general education. Under instruction from the Pope, the Roman Catholic schools removed all symbols of Christianity except the cross. The Turks would not consent to this exception. Their stipulations permit the use of symbols of religion in a chapel, or in rooms set aside solely for religious worship. provided that non-Christian students be not required to attend the services in such places. Thirty-six French schools were closed in Constantinople, shutting out 13,000 pupils, twenty-five in Anatolia, with 3,000 pupils. French and other European Governments protested at Angora, calling this action a "violation of the Angora Agreement and the Treaty of Lausanne." The Italian schools that were closed agreed to comply with Government regulations. and were permitted to reopen. The American schools were able to comply with little or no change in their customary régime.

Turkish journals report that Professor Arnold Toynbee has accepted a position in the Ottoman University at Constantinople.

The Turkish Government refused the demand of the American State Department for \$12,000 to recompense George Horton, formerly American Consul General at Smyrna, for his losses when that city was taken by the Turks. The Turks declined to admit that their forces set the city on fire.

Prime Minister Ismet Pasha, who is also Foreign Minister, offered Rear Admiral Bristol, the American High Commissioner, a site for an American embassy at Angora. Constantinople is a much pleasanter place to live in than the interior city. At present no suitable accommodations exist in Angora for the residence of members of the Diplomatic Corps. The Turks appear determined to retain the capital there, and the desire for the convenient transaction of business

will probably require the building of foreign embassies at that place. Admiral Bristol returned from Angora to Constantinople at the time of a visit of J. P. Morgan to the latter city.

The Angora Assembly on April 21 passed the final clauses of the new Constitution and adopted the instrument as a whole almost unanimously. Article 88, which provided that all Turkish subjects, without distinction of race or religion, were to be called Turks and enjoy the same legal footing, was amended by the addition of an explanatory clause: "They are called Turks in so far as they are compatriots." The implication is that all who exercise full Turkish citizenship must have attended Turkish schools and must speak Turkish and fully adopt Turkish culture; Greeks, Armenians and other members of minorities will be excluded from public utility services and public offices unless they comply with such conditions.

The new zoning regulations provide that no Armenians shall reside in Turkey east of a line drawn from Samson on the Black Sea to Silefke on the Mediterranean. This provision excludes Armenians from all that part of Turkey to which they have been laying claim. Armenians who have left Turkey voluntarily are not to be allowed to return. This was emphasized by a commotion in the Assembly early in April, because of the return to Constantinople, with the permission of the Government, of three wealthy Armenians, named Sebukian, Deirmenjian and Guardanian, who had left to avoid the Nationalist occupa-It was affirmed that the first had paid 22,000 Turkish pounds and that the second had presented an official with a draft for 4,500 Turkish pounds. After a sharp debate in the Assembly a commission was appointed to investigate the charge of bribery, and Ferid Bey, Minister of the Interior, reversed his own decision by ordering the Armenians out of the country. Lands abandoned by Armenian refugees are to be distributed among Moslems who suffered from the Greek invasion. The Armenian National Delegation has appealed to Governments belonging to the League of Nations to forward the raising of money to establish Armenian refugees in Transcaucasia. The Turkish zoning regulations are not to be applied to the 200,000 Jews resident in Turkey.

The Treaty of Lausanne was ratified by the British Parliament on April 15. During the discussion Mr. Lloyd George characterized the treaty as deplorable, humiliating and a dark page in the history of British diplomacy. Nevertheless, he held it would be a very grave responsibility to reject the treaty and reopen a condition of war with Turkey. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, though admitting that there had been much criticism of the treaty, said that a fresh Peace Conference was out of the question, and that nonratification would mean the perpetuation of a perfectly intolerable situation in the Near and the extensive use of the waters of the Nile for

Middle East. He was satisfied that the treaty could be made the basis of a good working understanding between Turkey and Great Britain.

Negotiations were undertaken at Constantinople between representatives of Turkey and Rumania. apparently at the request of the latter, looking toward an alliance against Russia. These negotiations appear to have failed completely. Though the Rumanians are seriously alarmed at the demand of the Russian Government for a plebiscite to settle the ownership of Bessarabia, the Turks have at present no serious anxiety as regards Russian territorial ambitions.

The deficit expected for the year 1924 has been reduced to \$5,000,000. This is on the basis of making no appropriations for interest on debts. The Government procured some credits in March by an agreement with the Ottoman Bank, which is sustained by foreign capital, mainly French and British. The bank obtains an extension of its concession for eleven years until March 1, 1935; it agrees to supply the Government and the Agricultural Bank with credits, bearing interest at a rate between 5 and 7 per cent., it will gradually incorporate Moslem employes until they form 50 per cent. of its staff, and it will send abroad at least ten Moslem employes yearly for training in its foreign branches.

The foreign trade of Turkey for the year 1923 amounted to \$33,000,000, of which \$20,000,000 represents the value of imports. A commercial treaty was concluded with Germany at the beginning of April. A Russian commercial exhibition was opened in Constantinople in April. The Turkish Government opened an agricultural exposition at Adana on May 10. The arrangements were quite up to date: special direct trains were run from Constantinople and Smyrna, with a reduction of fares; the authorities arranged facilities for housing and caring for exhibitors and delegates and provided interpreters; gold, silver and bronze medals were offered by the Turkish Government for the types of agricultural machinery best adapted to local conditions.

#### EGYPT

DEBATE in the Egyptian Parliament on April A 12 dealt with the control of irrigation works in the Sudan. A member had given notice of six Minister for Public Works Morcos Hanna Pasha replied that he had ordered an investigation of the whole question of Sudan irrigation. It was shown that existing irrigation schemes are being carried on at the expense of the Sudan Government, without cost to Egypt. Because of the joint ownership of Great Britain with Egypt in the Sudan, and the desire of many Egyptians for exclusive control of the Sudan, it was insisted that projects be held up until after receiving Egyptian approval. Some fear was expressed lest

irrigation in the Sudan would seriously diminish the quantity available in Egypt.

The editor of Al Akhbar, after publishing bitter articles against the Premier's attitude on the Sudan question, was summoned before the Criminal Investigation Department. Zaghlul Pasha is severely criticized by the vernacular press on the ground that he himself not long ago set the fashion of fiery denunciation and personal abuse.

B. Verschoyle resigned as general manager of the Egyptian State Railways on March 11. This was, he said, "because the Ministry has taken all power out of my hands, and I am seriously concerned about the ultimate safety of passengers and the maintenance of the service." The railways employ 35,000 men; the revenue amounts to one-fourth of the Government receipts and expenses to about one-fifth of those of the Government. The total business done amounts to \$70.-000,000 per year and the net return yields from 5 to 6 per cent, interest on the capital invested.

A controversy has developed in regard to calling a Moslem conference at Cairo to decide the question of the Caliphate. The Ulema, or Moslem learned men, of Alexandria refused to sign the manifesto of the Cairo Ulema and drew up one of their own. A third group of Ulema in Cairo affirmed that Abdul Medjid, lately expelled from Turkey, is still the lawful Caliph.

The archaeological mission of the University of Pennsylvania has decided to withdraw from Egypt, because the Government has declined to renew for any definite period the arrangement by which finds have been divided equally between the archaeologists and the Government.

since 1914. About 85 per cent. of the visitors were Americans. German tourists have begun to return.

The total fereign trade of the Sudan for 1923 amounted to \$38,000,000, of which \$24,000,000 represents imports.

#### PALESTINE

SCAR S. STRAUS, formerly Ambassador to Turkey, stated after a month's trip through Palestine that he found the situation both economically and politically excellent. He went there on an "unofficial mission" in the hope of establishing harmony among the various religious groups in Palestine. The Greek and Armenian Patriarchs both promised to make every endeavor for peace and harmony with all other groups. The Arabs still entertain hopes of getting the French out of Syria and the British out of Palestine, and adding those territories to the Arab Confederation. King Hussein, whom Mr. Straus visited at Amman, affirmed that Great Britain had promised him Syria and Palestine in addition to Arabia. Hussein proposed that if these countries be added to his kingdom he would give equal rights with the Arabs to all Christians and Jews. It is Mr. Straus's impression that the Arab agitators, who plot against France and Great Britain, are principally from among the Christian elements of the population, and that the Moslem Arabs get on well with the Jews, and are not strenuously opposed to French and British. Conditions in the Jewish colonies were much more hopeful and advanced than Mr. Straus had anticipated. "While The tourist season has been the most successful Zionism will doubtless continue as a pious hope,



Amman, the capital of Transjordania. The house occupied by the Emir Abdullah is the large building surrounded by the wall in the centre of the photograph

i.s realization lies under the broad, benevolent provisions of the mandate. The present Government under the British mandate accords all that is best and practical for Jews and Christians alike."

The Jewish colony of Mettulah was formally incorporated into the territory of Palestine on April 9 by a simple ceremony, which included the raising of the British flag.

The executive of the Palestine Arabs has begun steps toward forming an anti-Zionist world organization to be known as the "Defense of Palestine."

Construction projects proposed for Jerusalem involve the erection of about fifty shops and office buildings in the section known as "Merkaz Mishari," and at least ninety houses in the "Montefiore Quarter." The buildings will be constructed of stone and concrete with tile roofs.

The Government of Sir Herbert Samuel has been able to reduce expenses without diminishing administrative efficiency by combining districts. The original Occupied Enemy Territory Administration South, or "Octa South," was divided into thirteen districts, each with a Governor and staff. This number was reduced in 1919 to ten, in 1920 to seven and in 1923 to four; now the number is to be reduced to three, namely, Samaria-Phoenicia, Jerusalem-Jaffa and the Southern District, including Gaza, Hebron and Beersheba.

#### ARABIA

ING HUSSEIN left Transjordania on March 20 for Mecca, after a visit of two months to his son, the Emir Abdullah. He has decided to establish an advisory council to assist him as Caliph, and to summon a general Moslem Conference to consider large questions. This project is in conflict with the Egyptian proposals. The Bengal Caliphate Conference has passed a resolution regretting Hussein's assumption of the title of Caliph, and declaring that Indian Moslems are not prepared to accept the action of a particular group taken without consultation of Moslems everywhere.

King Hussein transferred the districts of Akaba and Tebuk to the rule of Emir Abdullah. At the same time he appointed Abdullah Commanderin-Chief of the Hedjaz forces. It is believed that Hussein purposes exchanging posts between Abdullah, Emir of Transjordania, and his brother Ali, who has been Hussein's right-hand man. Certain constitutional questions arise, since Transjordania comes under the British mandate for Palestine, and the Emir Abdullah legally holds his appointment from Great Britain. Furthermore, not all the territory transferred from the Hedjaz to Transjordania has been regarded as under the Palestine mandate.

#### SYRIA

CENERAL WEYGAND, the French High Commissioner, left for Paris on April 7. He has reformed the municipal administration of Beirut by creating a City Council of fifteen members, part French and part native, under the Presidency of a Prefect. He began rearranging portions of the business section of the city by tearing down old buildings and replacing them by better ones.

Incursions of Turkish bands continue to be reported across the northern frontier. It was affirmed that in consequence of revolt in the South, sixty Arab villages had been destroyed by French airplanes. The Government is reported to have made arrangements for receiving in Syria and Lebanon 10,000 Syrian Orthodox refugees from the Southern provinces of Turkey.

A great excess of imports over exports continues to disturb trade conditions. The imports at Beirut and Tripoli for the month of January were in both weight and value more than five times the exports.

#### **IRAQ**

ING FEISAL opened the Constituent Assembly on March 28 with a joyful celebration. Abdul Mushin Bey was elected President by a large majority. In the speech from the throne, the King strongly recommended the Assembly to accept the proposed treaty with Great Britain. A strong opposition developed against the ratification of the treaty. On April 20 two Deputies who favored ratification were stabbed and seriously wounded in the streets of Bagdad. The agitation against the treaty is said to centre chiefly on the argument that Great Britain offers no guarantee that the Province of Mosul will not be surrendered to Turkey.

British opinion continues to be disunited as regards the desirability of retaining a controlling influence in Iraq. The British elements opposed to the treaty hold that the Government of Feisal is maintained forcibly by British influence and recommend that Seyyid Talib be recalled from banishment in Ceylon, because it is believed he would be the choice of the people of Iraq for their Chief Executive.

#### PERSIA

THE Premier, Riza Khan, known also as Sirdar Sipah, resigned after the failure of his proposal to substitute a republic for the monarchy. He was recalled to power by the Parliament, which gave him a vote of confidence by a four-to-one majority. He gathered about him a reconstructed Ministry and resumed his control of the Government. It is reported that the Premier places all his hope of a successful Administration in American capital, in connection with the concession of the Sinclair oil interests.



#### **CHINA**

U PEI-FU, the Super-Tuchun of Laoyang, continues to extend his military power in North China. Following closely upon his conquest of Szechuan he was reported as planning the invasion of Shensi. The Province of Fukien now seems to have passed under the control of his agents, and General Chen Chiungming has asked for funds to renew his campaign against Dr. Sun Yat-sen. His appointee, Kao En-hung, assumed the post of Director General of the Kiao-Chau Territorial Government on March 30, and thus that flourishing port came under his control. Wu's capital, Laoyang, is the real centre of power in North China and no political moves are made before their advocates have consulted with the masterful Marshal.

In preparation for the expected struggle with Chang Tso-lin of Manchuria, Wu Pei-fu has, for some weeks, held up the laborers returning from China proper to Manchuria at the Great Wall, Shanhaikwan, where they are given the alternative of enlisting in his army or of returning to their homes. It has been the custom for Chinese laborers to move back and forth from their homes, Chihli and Shantung, to the fields of of Manchuria. After the crops are harvested in the Autumn they return home, and after the New Year's festival they set out again for Manchuria. Wu Pei-fu's action has not only gained thousands of able-bodied recruits for his army but also adversely affected the labor market in Manchuria.

One of the first official acts of Kao En-hung at Tsing-tao was the dismissal of 147 advisers and officials attached to the former administration. Economy, efficiency and honesty are announced as the principles of the new régime. The former Director of General Affairs was detained when he attempted to leave the city in order to be questioned as to the whereabouts of some \$3,000,000 (silver) of the territorial revenue.

Later developments in the Chinese-Russian negotiations may be summarized as follows: On March 14 Mr. Karakhan and Dr. C. T. Wang signed the preliminary text of an agreement, subject to approval or rejection by the Governments concerned. When the Chinese Ministry failed to ratify the terms of the memorandum, Mr. Karakhan, on March 16, set a three-day limit for its action. On March 19 he wrote that

the draft agreement was to be considered no longer binding, and that there would be no more negotiations pending full and unconditional recognition of the Soviet Government. This was followed by a further memorandum from Mr. Karakhan on March 24, to which Foreign Minister Koo replied on April 1. In this statement Dr. Koo answered certain assertions of the Russian representative, and enumerated three points in the original memorandum which must be revised before the draft would be signed by the Chinese representatives and the formal recognition of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics granted. The three points were those dealing with the abrogation of all treaties signed by the Soviet Government (as well as the Czarist Government) with any third party or parties affecting the sovereign rights and interests of China; with a more definite undertaking for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Outer Mongolia; and with the proposed transfer of the properties of the Orthodox Church in China to the Soviet Government. No information is at hand as to the Russian reply to this statement, but it was believed in Peking that Moscow was not prepared to negotiate further at this time.

The indemnities demanded by the interested powers for damages suffered by their nationals at the hands of the Lincheng bandits last May have not been paid. On April 3 the diplomatic corps forwarded to the Foreign Office an inquiry on this subject. The amount demanded is \$363,301.42 (silver), of which the United States asks for \$143,639.20.

The diplomats also informed the Foreign Office that they were unable to advise their Governments to recognize the new trade-marks law or their nationals to register under it. They demanded that trade-mark cases be dealt with strictly in accordance with existing treaty stipulations.

One of the sad aftermaths of the World War is the presence of some 60,000 destitute Russian refugees in China. Agents of the League of Nations have been investigating their condition and efforts are being made by the League and by private agencies to relieve them. An attempt will be made to secure from the Soviet Government a guarantee that those who return to the homeland will receive fair treatment.

Mr. Karakhan, on March 16, set a three-day Among the first of the cultural enterprises limit for its action. On March 19 he wrote that financed by the Boxer Indemnity remitted by

Japan will be a visit of fifty Chinese students to Japan about July 1. This will be in the nature of a return trip occasioned by the visit of a group of Japanese students to China last year.

Typical of the unrest prevailing in many of the educational centres of China is the strike of most of the students at Peiyang University, Tientsin, because of the refusal of the administration to permit them to select the courses which they wish to pursue. As this is a technical school, the faculty insisted upon a prescribed curriculum.

Renewal of the anti-Japanese agitation was reported from the Yangtze region, where parades were held on April 1 in Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang to demonstrate against foreign aggression and support the demand for the return of Liaotung by Japan.

At the annual meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce, Shanghai, on April 3, a report was presented which summarized the commercial development of the year. It read, in part: "It is our firm conviction that the solution of the problems now facing Chinese people rests entirely in the hands of the educated and business classes, and until such time as they take a firm hand in political and governmental affairs no lasting improvement can take place. To this end, it is our duty to lend assistance wherever it may be needed to those elements which are working for right and justice. Until something is accomplished along these lines, however, it will be necessary for

the foreign Governments to insist upon fulfillment of all treaty rights, and to see to it themselves that the lives and property of their nationals are safeguarded."

#### **JAPAN**

ARLY official returns of the elections for the new Diet held on May 10 gave the Seiyuhonto, considered the party of Prime Minister Kiyoura, only 32 of the 162 seats on which decision had been reached. There are 463 members of the House of Representatives and these partial results indicated that the Kenseikai, a minority party in the last Diet, would be the largest party in the new Diet and combined with other opposition groups, would have a decisive majority against the Kiyoura Government, forcing the present Cabinet to resign. Election day was marked by disturbances all over the country.

One of the principal subjects of discussion in Japan during the month was the Immigration bill then under consideration in the United States tions in Congress that the Japanese Government



Keystone

VISCOUNT KIEGO KIYOURA Premier of Japan

Congress. It must be remembered that the people of Japan are one of the most literate populations in the world. Their country is small, and the leading newspapers have large circulations. For these reasons the Japanese people react more promptly to the news of the day than any other Asiatic or even most Western peoples. In addition to the services of news agencies, several of the great newspapers maintain their own correspondents at Washington and other American cities. Thus every stage in the progress of the Immigration bill was reported in the Japanese press and commented upon in editorials and in statements of publicists. In general, there was a feeling of regret, and in some quarters of indignation, that the anti-Japanese feeling, which had up to this time been confined to the Pacific Coast States, should have manifested itself so overwhelmingly in the national Congress. It was asserted that the exclusion of Japanese was a violation of the commercial treaty of 1911, while the repeated asserhad broken the faith pledged in the "Gentlemen's Agreement" were looked upon as an affront to the honor of Japan. During these days the Japanese press made this subject the principal topic of discussion. Public meetings were held all over the country. Resolutions were passed, most of them urging consideration for the national dignity and rights of Japan, but some of a jingoistic tone. The Cabinet was in frequent conference on the subject; the Privy Council gave it consideration; Prince Saionii, one of the two remaining Elder Statesmen, came up to Tokio to consult with the Premier; and the youthful Prince Regent was kept informed of all developments in the controversy. At first there was some talk of reprisals, but some of the bitterness was relieved by the statements of Secretary Hughes, by the publication of comments from leading American newspapers criticizing the methods employed by Congress, and reports that efforts were being made by President Coolidge to find some solution of the problem which would reconcile the desires of Congress and the rights and dignity of Japan. Considered from the standpoint of international relations it is difficult to escape the conviction that the United States Congress made use of needlessly irritating and objectionable methods to accomplish something which might have been gained with little difficulty.

Secretary Hughes and Ambassador Hanihara on April 26 signed an agreement renewing for five years the arbitration pact, providing for the reference of international disputes to The Hague.

The plans for the welcome of the American round-the-world aviators went forward in spite of the immigration excitement. American and Japanese destroyers proceeded to the base established in the Kurile Islands, and the American naval vessels were permitted to enter closed ports.

Denials were promptly issued by the Foreign Office of the alleged Japanese treaties of alliance with Rumania and France, which had been reported in the British and Continental press.

The first meeting of the new Imperial Economic Council was held in Tokio on April 11. This body, composed of 110 of the leading financiers, industrialists, economists and social welfare students, was formed by the Kiyoura Ministry as an advisory body for framing the Government's post-earthquake restoration policies.

In addition to the reduction in the budget estimates for the army and navy previously reported, the Navy Department announced that in



Harris & Ewing

BARON K. MATSUI Foreign Minister in the Kiyoura Cabinet

carrying out the agreements of the Washington Conference approximately 14,740 officers and men have been discharged from the navy. The decision of the British Government not to proceed with the establishment of a naval base at Singapore was received with gratification in Japan. Foreign Minister Matsui, in this connection, said: "We are more than content with the naval agreement; we intend to adhere to the spirit as well as the letter of that treaty and hope it will be repeatedly renewed and continue indefinitely to form a bond of understanding among the naval powers, insuring peace upon the seas."

The foreign trade of Korea for 1923 broke all previous records, the total reaching 527,450,000 yen. Except on the part of a few irreconcilables, political agitation has practically ceased in the peninsula and friction has been reported between the Russian Communists and their subsidized Korean agents. The reforms introduced in 1919 have, on the whole, worked out satisfactorily. Korean laborers are now returning to Japan. The restriction upon the entrance of Korean and Chinese laborers is put into effect only when the labor market of Japan is overstocked.



HENRY CABOT LODGE, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

# A MONTH'S SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS YRobert McElroy, Ph.D., IL.D Professor of American History, Princeton University

World Movement Toward Arms Limitation—Prince Tokugawa, President of the Japanese House of Peers, and one of the Japanese delegation to the Washington Conference, declared, on April 7, for another conference for

further limitation of armaments.

On the same day Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania offered to the Senate a resolution declaring that, "in the judgment of the Senate, the time has come when a world conference, similar to the conference heretofore held at The Hague, may with advantage be assembled for the consideration of questions affecting the peace of the world." The resolution further proposed as a topic for consideration by such a conference the further reduction of naval armament and the limitation of land and aerial armament.

During the debate which ensued Senator Swanson pointed out that "fifty-four nations of the world are already in conference \* \* \* investigating and trying to reach the conclusion for disarmament in the air, on the sea and on land. They have extended an invitation to this nation to send a representative there regarding reduction of armament \* \* \* . Has the Senator any objection to the United States sending a representative to that conference, not bound by anything in the world except to make a recommendation to this nation for disarmament?" In reply Senator Pepper refused to be drawn into a debate upon the League of Nations, declaring himself content to allow that question to await the orderly debate which would come after the committee had made its report.

About three weeks later the League of Nations' sub-committee of the Temporary Mixed Commission for Disarmament began its session at Prague (April 26), the first debate being clared himself unable to state, an admission

in regard to a proposal of Colonel Carnegie, Canadian representative, to forbid the private manufacture of arms in States adhering to the convention. The plan uppermost in the minds of the members, however, is some such international conference as that which President Coolidge seems to have in mind. The League officials hope that a plan for such a conference can be perfected which will be approved by all States, including America.

The announcement has recently been made that Dr. Benès, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, plans a trip to Washington during the coming Summer in order to lay before President Coolidge his idea of disarmament and peace through an international guarantee treaty in which all States that have signed the treaties establishing new frontiers in Europe, including Russia and Germany, shall join. Such a treaty, Dr. Benès believes, would give Europe a sense of security which would make reduction of armaments an easy matter.

On May 7 the British Premier, Ramsay MacDonald, declared in Parliament that he would be glad to have a resolution passed in pursuance of the plan of President Coolidge to have another reduction of armament conference convened; and a similar statement came the same day from the Australian Premier.

World Courts—On April 24 Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, presented to the Senate petitions bearing 170,000 signatures and pleading for American representation in the World Court. How soon the committee would be ready to report out the so-called Harding plan providing that the United States become a member of the World Court he declared himself amends to estate an admiration and admiration.

to become militant, conscious as they are that the original proposal is now in its second year of slumber in the committee.

On April 27 the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association vigorously attacked Senator Lodge for delay in dealing with the World Court; and in explanation Senator Lodge declared that "it has seemed to the committee one of those questions that did not require immediate action." In retort the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association declared "Six successive American Presidents, beginning with McKinley, have officially advocated a world court. Three great American Secretaries of State-Hay, Root and Hughes-have been its special protagonists. During this period the platforms of both political parties have favored such a court. Active American efforts to establish the court began with the first Hague conference in 1890 and continued for fifteen years, its success being prevented, however, by the impossibility of reaching an agreement between the large nations and the small on the method of choosing judges.'

In consequence of this pressure hearings were begun by the Senate subcommittee on April 30. Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and Republican leader, on May 8 introduced a joint resolution containing a plan for substituting what he calls the "League Court" into a "World Court of Justice," and requesting President Coolidge to call an international conference for the consideration of the project. The resolution was ordered referred to the Foreign Relations Committee and will be the subject of

Senator Lodge's idea is the establishment of a World Court to be substituted for the present International Court of Justice and to be completely divorced from the League of Nations. The new court is to consist of twelve Judges and Deputy Judges, to be chosen, without regard to nationality, by an electoral commission composed of representatives designated by the signatory. powers, and a special committee of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, together with the representatives of five other signatory powers selected by the general committee. Its object is to be to "achieve and preserve peace." Senator Lodge's plan is quite different from the Harding-Hughes plan for American entrance into the existing Court of International Justice which was set up under the auspices of the League. It differs also from the Lenroot plan and from the other world court plans already before the Senate, and is to be in addition to the present Hague Court of Arbitration.

The Anglo-Russian Conference—After the British recognition of the Russian Soviet Government, on Feb. 2, both countries began making preparations for the Anglo-Russian conference,

which caused the friends of that project at once adjust relative claims and consider important questions, such as loans to Russia. Thirteen leading British bankers sent to Ramsay MacDonald, the British Premier, a memorandum containing six items which should be insisted upon at that conference.

> The fourth item reads: "That the Russian Government shall definitely guarantee that in future private property shall in all circumstances be free from danger of confiscation by the State." The sixth is equally significant: "That the Russian Government shall abandon its propaganda against the institutions of other countries, and particularly against all those from whom they propose to request financial assistance.'

> In welcoming the Russian delegation on April 14, Premier MacDonald took occasion to assure them that the British recognition was "an unqualified recognition." But he also warned them that propaganda in Great Britain by Russian agents would not be endured. "We do not question the right of the Union to set up any form of internal Government which may seem good to it," said the Premier, "but we do maintain that the first essential to friendly relations between the Union and ourselves is that the Union should reciprocate our attitude in this matter, and should desist from countenancing; directly or indirectly, anything that smacks of an attempt to carry on among people of a country, either at home or abroad, propaganda which when internally inspired may be legitimate, but when controlled, and even financed, from abroad is not iegitimate."

> "I myself," he added with significant frankness, "have too intimate a knowledge of international movements to be deceived by false distinctions. \* \* \* The world watches our proceedings, and in accordance with our success it will decide not only what its relations to Russia are to be, but also how it is to regard negotiations like these as a means of removing such difficulties and disagreements as now divide us."

> M. Rakovsky, leader of the Soviet delegation. in replying to the British Prime Minister, declared that the Russian delegation had been "not only furnished with very wide powers, but has also the full political authority to make on the spot all necessary decisions." And he expressed the view that "no insurmountable obstacle is standing in the way of a complete understanding between Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

> As proof of Russia's sincere desire to work for general disarmament, M. Rakovsky declared that "during the last three years our army has been reduced twelve times, and from 6,000,000, the strength at the beginning of 1921, we have reduced it to 500,000, spread over the immense territory of 20,000,000 square kilometers."

"Though the Soviet Government," he added. "does not feel in the same way as is felt in scheduled to meet at London on April 14, to England toward the League of Nations as it now

exists \* \* \* they would be prepared to associate | Conference of London, a dispatch from Geneva themselves with a plan of international organization which should exclude measures of coercion and reprisal. These can result only in serving the selfish interests of certain of the more powerful States." And as his answer to the British Premier's demand for perfect sincerity, he added: "The Soviet Government fully shares in the view of the British Government that mutual non-intervention in internal affairs is one of the indispensable conditions for the creation of confidence between the two nations."

A dispatch from Ottawa dated April 17 presents details calculated to lessen confidence in Russia's change of heart regarding propaganda. It reports that the Russian Soviet delegation which recently came to Canada to arrange for renewed commercial relations has already got into difficulties on account of propaganda activities. Their baggage was refused the immunity which was claimed for it, and was later shown to contain about 40 per cent. of Red propaganda material denouncing and ridiculing Jesus Christ and Christianity and praising communism and the revolution. Such dispatches cause most nations to continue to regard Russia with suspicion.

Premier Poincaré of France has declared in the Senate that France will take a position similar to that of the United States regarding the recognition of the Soviet Government on the ordinary principles regulating the relations between States. He said that, though not desiring that France should concern herself in any way with Russia's interior régime, he would see that French holders of Russian bonds be adequately protected. He declared that until those interests were secure France would not alter her attitude toward the Soviet régime.

After a brief Easter recess the Anglo-Russian conference resumed its sessions, to face grave difficulties. MacDonald's demands upon Russia of \$5,000,000,000 on behalf of British bondholders and confiscated British private property was answered by Rakovsky by a demand for \$20,000,-000,000 for damages wrought by British support of Koltchak, Denikin and Yudenitch three years

But even these huge claims do not constitute the chief item in the game. That is the question of new credits for Russia. Where foreign obligations are still unsafe, credits are hard to establish. What the British bankers told the British Premier will be echoed and re-echoed from bankers of many lands. To get loans Russia must make herself safe for the investor, a task especially difficult at this moment of Russian reaction toward the pure brand of communism. Lenin's new economic policy of three years ago is now fading under a scheme which means death by taxation.

The League of Nations—The day after the Easter recess adjournment of the Anglo-Russian the coca leaf, from which Peru and Bolivia manu-

reported that all Governments had just been notified that a meeting of the Calendar Commission of the League of Nations would convene in May to consider the important question of a universal calendar, including the fixing of a definite date for Easter Sunday. An American, Willis H. Booth, President of the International Chamber of Commerce, is a member of the Calendar Commission, which contains also representatives of the Greek Orthodox, English and Roman Catholic Churches. The League recently decided that the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America should be welcomed as a collaborator and invited suggestions from other religious organizations.

The Chinese through Chen Huan-chang, President of the Confucian Association of China, have intimated their desire that the Chinese calendar be adopted as a sort of auxiliary calendar, pointing out that it makes due allowance for the rotation of both the sun and the moon; that it divides the seasons in a manner convenient to agricultural life, and was "approved by Confucius and perpetually used through nearly all Chinese history. ' Although the Chinese Government has officially adopted the Gregorian system, there is a natural reverence for this ancient calendar amid the 400,000,000 Chinese and a desire that its age and its excellent points be generally understood.

From India, on the other hand, has come an intimation to the effect that the calendar is already so complicated that other changes are matters of indifference to the Indian people.

If the League of Nations can succeed in securing the general adoption of a really universal calendar it will have taken an important step toward that kind of unity which is needed if nations are really to act in harmony and fully understand one another.

# THE ANTI-OPIUM CRUSADE

The special commission of the League of Nations which is preparing for the two scheduled international opium conferences of next Autumn assembled at Geneva on April 23 under conditions discouraging in the extreme. Difficulties have multiplied, and the commission finds itself far from able to meet the American suggestion that the use of opium be restricted to medical and scientific purposes. The Indian spokesmen insist that India is already controlling opium production and is ready strictly to supervise the exportation of the drug, but they question the right of foreign countries to define the quantity India may use at home. They insist that it would be unjust to limit her production unless a similar restriction were placed upon Turkey and Persia, an achievement recognized as difficult if not impossible.

The commission finds a similar difficulty in the way of the plan to limit the production of facture cocaine. But it hopes to be able to prepare a preliminary draft convention for the International Conference of next November which will meet the approval of all nations represented.

# INTERNATIONAL EMIGRATION CONFERENCE

On April 23 Alberto Guani of Uruguay, President of the Council of the League of Nations, accepted an invitation from Premier Mussolini to attend an emigration conference to be held at Rome on May 15. The invitation and its acceptance is regarded as indicating that the coolness which has existed between Italy and the League since the Corfu episode is now at an end. The American representative at the conference will be W. W. Husband, United States Commissioner of Immigration.

The Italian press comment upon the pending American immigration restriction has been very bitter and seems to indicate a feeling that the measure is aimed especially at Italy. La Tribuna declared: "A jealous conservatism and desire to enjoy riches already acquired has taken the place of the former passion for material conquest. We must expect that the United States, for its future development, will require a more select immigration; therefore we must prepare our emigrants for higher grade competition."

The recent precedent of Brazil has been followed by Poland, which, on April 9, decided to create a permanent Polish delegation to the League of Nations. Count Alexander Skrzynski has been selected as the permanent delegate.

# INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY PROJECT

On May 1 the Sub-Committee of the League of Nations' Intellectual Cooperation Committee reached the conclusion that at present the creation of an international university is confronted by insurmountable obstacles. Just two days earlier (April 29) resolutions looking toward the establishment of a graduate school of international relations at Johns Hopkins University in memory of the late Walter Hines Page were unanimously adopted.

In opening the discussion upon the resolution Dr. John H. Finley of The New York Times said: "Many of our universities have chairs of international law \* \* \* but there is at present no opportunity for a wide and comprehensive course

of instruction and training in the fundamental facts of international relations."

Golden Rule Day—Dec. 7 has been set as "International Golden Rule Day" for the current year by the Executive Committee of the International Near East Association. Last year the financial returns of Golden Rule Day were about \$1,000,000, which was used, as will be the case this year, in supporting orphans in the Near East.

The Immigration Bill and Japanese Exclusion—The new Immigration bill, which recently passed both Houses, had to be referred to a conference committee owing to disagreements between the two Houses upon certain points. The Houses had, however, agreed upon the provision excluding Japanese and upon that fixing quotas at 2 per cent. of the 1890 quotas. These questions, therefore, were not included in the reference.

President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes have ever since been seeking some method of soothing Japan's wounded pride—"saving her face," as the Oriental expresses it—without abandoning our policy of excluding Orientals.

An unexpected change was proposed by the Senate and House conferees during the last few moments of the conference, postponing Japanese exclusion from July 1, 1924, until March 1, 1925, at the President's insistence; but the change was outside the range of questions referred to the conference. Accordingly on May 8 it was vigorously assailed on the floor of the Senate by both the Republican and Democratic Senators.

Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, in defending the President's action, declared: "We have missionaries all over the world. The good Christian people of the country are concerned at the roughshod way in which Congress acted. \* \* \* There is a way to accomplish exclusion and to accomplish it pleasantly. \* \* \* The President is anxious to do it in such a way that the people in other parts of the world shall not make the task of the missionaries any harder."

A recent comment in the Japanese paper Nichi-Nichi illustrates Senator Reed's point:

The Senate's action will imprint indelibly on the hearts of this people that no true, lasting friendship can grow between nations divided by blood and color. Woe to the cause of Christianity!



# Armies and Navies of the World

# THE UNITED STATES

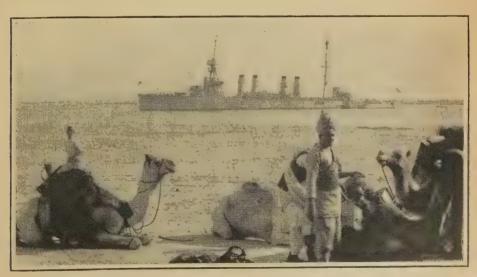
HARGES that the United States Navy is far below the ratio of strength set for it in the Washington naval treaty in every class of fighting ship, in bases, in personnel, in supplies and general equipment have been published throughout the country during the last month. This news has brought about a storm of editorial protest against these conditions throughout the country. In New York City every newspaper has commented favorably on bringing the navy up to the strength established in the treaty. This comment has been without regard to party.

On Sunday, April 27, in The New York Times, William B. Shearer made the direct charge that the navy was not being properly maintained. He placed the existing ratio as 5-3-1 with the United States as the 1, instead of the established treaty ratio of 5-5-3 with the United States as 5. In this interview Mr. Shearer discussed battleship strength, showing that thirteen of our vessels have but fifteen degrees of gun elevation as against at least twenty degrees for all the twenty-six ships in the British navy and as against eighteen to thirty-five degrees for the ten ships in the Japanese navy.

Mr. Shearer showed that instead of the United States being equal to England in the matter of number and tons of capital ships, there are twenty-two capital ships in the British navy as against eighteen in the United States navy and 660,000 tons of capital ships in the British navy ing and projected thirteen others and Great

as against 525,850 tons of ships in the American navy. In the matter of proper deck protection, Mr. Shearer showed that America is far behind her ratio of strength and that she may attain this strength under the provisions of the naval treaty, which allows an additional 3,000 tons per ship for this purpose. In regard to underwater protection for our capital ships, Mr. Shearer showed that twelve vessels are properly protected in the British navy to only five vessels in the American navy. In respect to his facts and figures concerning the relative strength of England and America, Mr. Shearer is substantially supported by Captain Dudley W. Knox, U. S. N., who, in a recent speech, estimated conservatively that America's capital ship strength is half that of Great Britain. Again, in respect to the speeds of capital ships, Mr. Shearer showed conclusively that both Japan and England possess great tactical advantages over us. All the American battleships have speeds of twenty-one knots, while thirteen British ships have speeds in excess of twenty-five knots and four Japanese ships have speeds in excess of twenty-seven knots.

In a second interview, published on April 28 in The New York Times, Mr. Shearer carried his contentions further. He showed that while America has but seven scout cruisers in service, Japan has seventeen and Britain fifty-three. He showed that though America is building only three additional light cruisers, Japan has build-



The United States cruiser Concord at Port Sudan, Egypt

rious, as they are the type of ship which controls commerce in time of war as well as the type given over to fleet scouting. Mr. Shearer also stressed the American weakness in submarines and auxiliaries as well as in reserve supplies, such as oil, ammunition, engineering supplies, torpedoes, and so forth. He showed that the current fuel oil of the navy is far less than the amount the Secretary of the Navy would have the public believe. The destroyers out of commission and rotting away at Philadelphia are touched upon to show our need of an adequate personnel, instead of the existing 86,000 men. If these boats are not soon reconditioned and placed in service they will become utterly worthless.

On the day following the publication of these charges by Mr. Shearer, Senators King and Swanson and Representative French undertook to dis prove Mr. Shearer's charges, and an anonymous "high naval authority" also stated that Mr. Shearer's charges were exaggerated. Representative French stated that there were eighteen ships in the British Navy as against eighteen in the American Navy. However, the official British Navy List bears out the statements of Mr. Shearer. It shows that there are twenty-four capital ships in service in the British Navy and two others building. These last ships have been under construction for several years and may be regarded as potentially in existence.

On the following evening Mr. Curtis D. Wilbur, Secretary of the Navy, made a speech at the Y. W. C. A. Convention. He implied that the navy was in excellent condition and that charges to the contrary were without foundation. That same night, without the Secretary's knowledge, the report showed that, because of their condition, Admiral R. E. Coontz, U. S. Navy, was being sent out over the news wires. Admiral Coontz's report showed that because of their condition, the battleships present at manoeuvres were forced to withdraw on orders from the Navy Department. The condition of their boilers made it impossible for them to be more than a hindrance to the rest of the fleet. Again, the Coontz report showed conclusively that the condition of the fleet as a whole, so far as military efficiency was concerned, were about as low as it possibly could be. It was also shown that in many instances our submarines were kept going only by absolutely heroic action on the part of their crews. This condition, according to the report, was only a natural result of the so-called "deferred maintenance" policy of the Navy Depart-

This policy allows a ship to go to a navy yard for only those repairs that are immediately necessary. The others, not so pressing, are allowed to continue, and gradually, as a result of this

Britain five. This matter of cruisers is most sell inoperative condition. The reason for this policy is the small amounts allowed by Congress in the Naval Appropriation bills for the upkeep of ships. It is authoritatively stated that there have not been proper repairs to our fleet since the

> The publication of this report brought a storm of editorial protest from the press. No one could find from where the report had emanated. The members of Congress who had so emphatically asserted that Mr. Shearer's charges were unfounded hastened to adopt the new view. Senator King offered a resolution in the Senate to the effect that "sinister influences" were trying to keep the navy down. In the House, Representative Britten called upon the Navy Department to prepare answers to a list of 27 questions. Mr. Britten is a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, the committee which is charged with being responsible for the present state of affairs by many leading authorities on naval matters. His resolution, according to them, is merely an order to the department to provide his committee with a complete alibi. Representative Rogers of Massachusetts, second senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, also presented a resolution calling for an investigation and declaring that the navy is the right arm of the State Department in foreign affairs and must be kept up to its proper strength.

> On May 8 the Navy Department finally published the complete report of Admiral Coontz on our naval weaknesses. This report details the various weaknesses to a much greater degree than did the outline report issued previously. In the first paragraph it mentions various other reports of Admiral Coontz on the readiness of the fleet for war, which are said to contain further evidence of the condition of the navy as a whole. This final publication of the Coontz report again brought out a storm of editorial comment directed at the Navy Department and Con-

> The night following the release of this report, the Secretary of the Navy and the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in addresses before the National Security League, implied that the navy was in reasonably good condition. President Coolidge has let it be understood that he favored a navy fulfilling the terms of the treaty ratio of 5-5-3. Press reports credit him with believing that the situation is not serious. Finally, it is reported that he is in favor of building the navy up to its treaty strength, providing it does not cost anything either this fiscal year or the following one.

The needs of the navy, it is being urged, are as follows: (1) Additional elevation to the turret guns of thirteen of our battleships, together with increased deck protection and blistering against torpedo attack; (2) the changing of the battlepolicy, the entire fleet is breaking down to an ships Utah, Florida, Arkansas, Wyoming, New



The U.S. S. West Virginia

York and Texas from coal burners to oil burners; (3) a gradual increase in the naval personnel from 86,000 men to 136,000 in order to man the existing ships fully; (4) proper yearly appropriations for fuel, so that fuel shortage will not cripple our fleets at manoeuvres and in other serious situations; (5) the establishment of at least three really useful naval bases; at least one on the Atlantic Coast, at least one on the Pacific Coast and the completion of the Pearl Harbor base: (6) the establishment of proper reserves of military supplies, such as shells, torpedoes, and so forth; (7) the bringing of the navy to its proper strength in the matter of planes and aviation equipment; (8) the establishment of reserve supplies of engineering and other kinds of stores; (9) the establishment of a national naval policy, approved by Congress, which shall provide for the proper maintenance of the navy within the limits of the Washington naval treaty.

### JAPAN

A CCORDING to reports in the Japanese press, a project is under way to obtain gases from the volcanoes Asama and Kirishima with which to fill the lighter-than-air craft of the army and navy. This gas is said to be non-inflammable and to possess great lifting power. The recent accident to the dirigible SS-3 over Tokio has given great in:petus to the work.

The submarine depot ship Chogei was launched at the Mitsubishi yard at Nagasaki on March 24. This ship is a sister vessel to the Jenjei, now serving with the fleet. She displaces 8,500 tons, is turbine driven and has five boilers. It is expected that she will be assigned to the submarine division with the battle cruiser fleet. Submarine No. 45 has just been completed and assigned to the Second Submarine Corps of the Fourteenth Submarine Flotilla, commanded by Rear Admiral Kawai. This submarine corps is entirely made up of newly completed vessels built by the Navy Department in naval dockyards. The other vessels are the 58 and 62.

Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, the "brigand General" of China, is reported to have purchased six of the older river gunboats of the Japanese Navy. No confirmation or denial has been made by the Japanese Government. However, these vessels are said to be in Chinese waters and it is known that most of them were to be replaced by the new gunboats of the Kataka class, now complete.



# Recent Scientific Discoveries

By WATSON DAVIS Managing Editor, Science Service

NO the buildings in Washington that are of general public interest there has been added what has been called "The Temple of Science in America," the new building of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council. President Coolidge in the dedicatory address on April 28 declared: "It is not a place of mystery, but one to lead the public in thinking deeply and seeing how research can explain fundamental problems." Exemplifying this statement, there were in the halls about the rotunda of the new building scientific exhibits of both fundamental and timely importance. There the visitors can perform for themselves the experiments of Oersted, Faraday, Henry, Maxwell and the other pioneers of our electrical age. Hanging from the centre of the dome of the rotunda is a Foucault pendulum that proves to those who will watch that the earth does revolve. An image of the sun, showing the spots that Galileo first discovered, is thrown on a pedestal in the centre of the rotunda by a telescope and mirrors. Close by the rotunda are other exhibits demonstrating the latest discoveries and inventions of research and science.

Samples of fused quartz, the latest development of the General Electric Company's research laboratories, allowed a demonstration of the fact that light from a match placed at one end of a curved quartz rod could be made to go around the corner because of internal reflection. The commercial development of this new glass will allow sunshine to enter hospitals and homes, without losing the ultra-violet and invisible portion of its light, which is working wonders in curing rickets, some forms of tuberculosis and other human ills. Quartz, unlike common glass, is not opaque to these shortest light rays.

On exhibition at the dedication of the National Academy were the latest human bones to engage the attention of anthropologists. Parts of the five skeletons discovered in Los Angeles and believed by some to be the oldest yet found on the American continent were the subject of papers. The conclusions of Dr. John C. Merriam, President of Carnegie Institution, and Professor Chester Stock of the University of California are that though these skeletons were found from nineteen to twenty-three feet under the surface of undisturbed layers of earth, they do not belong to a geological period antedating the one in which we now live; the age of these human remains should be measured in terms of thousands, but not necessarily in terms of tens of thousands expeditions," predicting by mathematical methods

of years. Since the skeletons are similar in type to the American Indian of today, anthropologists conclude that this continent was inhabited from Asia at an earlier date than has formerly been generally acknowledged.

# THE "MISSING LINK"

The discovery of what might be called the "missing link" between man and the apes is an even more important anthropological event. Dr. Barnum Brown, explorer for the American Museum of Natural History, discovered in the Siwalik Hills of India three jaws of a type of primitive creature that is believed to be ancestor of both men and apes. These three jaws are from three periods of evolution of this early apeman ancestor, which has been named Dryopithecus. Comparison with the jaws of modern men and apes allowed Dr. William K. Gregory of the American Museum to determine the relationship of this animal of Miocene times to present life.

As a result of a statistical study extending over nearly a decade, Dr. Raymond Pearl of Johns Hopkins University told the National Academy that those over 30 years of age who drink alcohol steadily but moderately have a better expectation of long life than total abstainers. Heavy drinkers, on the other hand, shorten their lives through their intemperance, according to his conclusions based on exact records of 150,000 years of life of many thousand people. These data were analyzed in the same way as life insurance statistics are handled.

The meeting of the National Academy was saddened by the sudden death of Dr. Ernest Fox Nichols of the Nela Park Research Laboratory, Cleveland, and former President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, while addressing the meeting. Death did not allow him to finish a paper on his latest work, the bridging of the gap between radio waves and heat waves. In one of the exhibition rooms close by was a demonstration of one of his fundamental discoveries, which showed that light can exert pressure. Among the papers read only by title, owing to Dr. Nichols's death, was one by Dr. R. A. Millikan, Nobel Prize winner in 1923. He virtually announced the birth of a new science, the astronomy of the atom. Using a spectroscope where the astronomer uses a telescope, Dr. Millikan has investigated the extremely minute atomic "solar systems." He has even gone on "eclipse the wave length of radiation emitted when an electron jumps from one of its possible orbits about the sunlike nucleus to another, and then finding in the spectrum produced by the atom the line providing the correctness of his prediction.

Two new instruments for measuring gravity upon the surface of the earth were demonstrated at the meeting, one by Professor A. A. Michelson of the University of Chicago, inventor of the interferometer which measured Betelgeuse, and the other by Dr. F. E. Wright of the Geophysical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institute of Washington. Gravitation in the sun and its effect upon starlight passing close to the sun were also dis-Einstein's third prediction based upon his theory of relativity stated the amount of deflection which the starlight should undergo. Astronomers have attempted to detect this spectrum shift, which, according to Einstein, should be only two ten-billionths of a millimeter. Dr. Charles E. St. John of Mount Wilson Observatory concludes that the shifting of the lines of the solar

spectrum follows Einstein's predictions satisfactorily, but Dr. Herbert D. Curtis, director of the Allegheny Observatory at Pittsburgh, although detecting a shift, does not find that it is the correct amount to agree with the Einstein prediction.

Preventive measures have been developed against two infectious diseases that have resisted control by man in the past. Following their identification of the germ causing scarlet fever and their development of a test which tells whether or not a person is immune to this disease. Dr. George F. and Dr. Gladys Henry Dick, working at the John McCormick Institute for Infectious Diseases at Chicago, have produced an antitoxin which will confer immunity from scarlet fever. At Johns Hopkins University, Dr. A. A. Weech has conducted experiments showing that if persons exposed to chickenpox are inoculated with serum obtained from the blood of a convalescent chickenpox patient they are protected against the disease.

# Deaths of Persons of Prominence

Wilson as Governor of New Jersey, at Denver, Col., April 1, aged 40. While serving with the Red Cross in France, Mr. Taylor contracted influenza, which developed into tuberculosis.

JAMES YEARANCE, President of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States, at East Orange, N. J., April 4, aged 80.

JOSEPH EDWARD WILLARD, United States Ambassador to Spain from 1913 to 1921, at New York, N. Y., April 4, aged 58.

Hugo Stinnes, German capitalist and reputedly one of the richest men in the world, at Berlin, April 10, aged 54. Inheriting a small fortune, Herr Stinnes used his legacy as the foundation upon which, after the war, he built a vast industrial organization.

BRIG. GEN. HORATIO GATES GIBSON, retired, who was the last surviving officer-veteran of the War with Mexico, 1847-48, at Washington, April 17, aged 96.

CAPTAIN PAUL BOYNTON, inventor of the "Shoot the Chute," at Brooklyn, N. Y., April 18, aged 76. His amusement device, perfected twenty years ago, won him wide renown.

ELEONORA DUSE, distinguished Italian actress,

I.EON R. TAYLOR, who succeeded Woodrow | while on her third American tour, at Pittsburgh, Pa., aged 64. Born in a suburb of Vienna, Signora Duse became famous at the age of 20.

> MARIE CORELLI, English novelist, at Stratfordon-Avon, April 21, aged 60. Born in 1864, Miss Corelli was the author of a score of romantic novels which enjoyed wide popularity.

> LINDON WALLACE BATES, noted American engineer and designer of many important waterways, at Paris, April 22, aged 63.

> BERTRAM GROSVENOR GOODHUE, architect, who designed the Nebraska State Capitol and other well-known buildings, at New York, N. Y., April 23, aged 55.

> COUNT ADOLPH VON MONTGELAS, German Minister to Mexico and noted diplomat, at Berlin, April 23, aged 52.

> DR. G. STANLEY HALL, for twelve years President of Clark University, and an authority on psychology, at Worcester, Mass., April 24, aged 78.

> CHARLES FRANCIS MURPHY, for twenty-two years leader of Tammany Hall, at New York, N. Y., April 26, aged 65. Born in New York, Mr. Murphy became a leader at the age of 22 and later became a national figure in the Democratic



BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

so far this year, from a domestic point of view, was the reduction, effective on May 1, of the rediscount rate from 4½ per cent. to 4 per cent. by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. This is the first change in the rate since February, 1923, and the first reduction since June 22, 1922. The new rate equals the minimum quoted by the New York bank since the establishment of the Federal Reserve system, and contrasts with the 7 per cent. maximum during the inflationary period of 1920. The outstanding immediate effects were an advance in bond prices. with Liberty bonds and Treasury certificates reaching their highest levels of the year on the day following the change; a decline in the call loan rate; and a scaling down of interest rates paid by banks on deposits.

No explanation for the reduction in the rediscount rate was forthcoming from the New York Federal Reserve Bank, but it has been pointed out from other sources that trade, which had been abnormally active when the rediscount rate was raised from 4 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. fourteen months ago, had slackened and demand for bank credit, whether for ordinary business purposes or for speculation, had been substantially reduced. On the other hand, attention is called to the fact that the banks of the country are financing the nation's business, investments and speculation without resort to the Federal Reserve system, and it is believed that the reduction itself will not prove a stimulant to greater business activity. The demands of business, it is claimed, have regulated the volume of credit, rather than the volume of credit and money regulating the volume of activity.

Other noteworthy financial features of the last thirty days were the issuance on April 29 of \$40,-000,000 Kingdom of Netherlands external 6s, and on May 1 of \$30,000,000 Bethlehem Steel Corporation consolidated mortgage 6s. The Netherlands loan was for the purpose of enabling Holland to consolidate its floating debt in the United

HE most significant financial development tensions to the Lackawanna, Midvale and Cambria properties acquired by the Bethlehem Corporation during the past two years." This statement came shortly after the announcement by E. H. Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, that at present his corporation is expending "not less than \$6,500,000 to \$7,000,000 per month in keeping our properties in fine condition, in making extensions-to take care of the business which is before us and which is being offered and which we feel certain will continue.' Mr. Gary added that this policy showed "the confidence we have in the future of our businessnot only for next week or next month, but for the year or two years and longer." When leaders of one of the great and basic industries announce financial plans such as these, despite the fact that current steel mill activities are 20 per cent. under the peak reached several weeks ago, it is considered highly significant, reflecting strong and active confidence in the economic future of the country.

## GERMAN ACCEPTANCE CREDIT ARRANGED

In an endeavor to promote the further revival of German-American trade, which before the war was second in importance only to this country's trade with Great Britain, an American dollar credit was created for German importers and exporters through negotiations completed on April The initial credit is \$5,000,000 for the discounting of two-name German trade bills, but the full importance of the move is not reflected in the size of the fund. Twenty-one of America's largest banks are parties to the agreement. Several of these institutions were also parties to the credit arrangement by which the French franc was saved in March. The negotiations were conducted with the new German gold rediscount bank in Berlin organized by Dr. Schacht. The plan distributes the risk here, insures against any but first-class paper being presented, and is expected to give a decided impetus to German-American trade. A further advantage claimed States and to provide a credit fund with which for the arrangement is that it will aid in mainto revitalize Dutch-American trade. The proceeds taining the prestige of the dollar in international of the Bethlehem Steel loan, it was officially trade. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that stated, "are to be used for improvements and ex- from Jan. 1 to May 11 there had been floated in

the American investment market \$280,000,000 of bonds for the accounts of foreign Governments. In addition, bank credits had been set up aggregating well in excess of \$100,000,000.

## THE INDUSTRIAL TREND

Conflicting tendencies in industry and trade persist in the United States. Lessened production in some basic industries, a reduced volume of freight movement, the continued decline of commodity prices, and the accentuation of the conservatism which characterizes buying policies have all reacted on business sentiment.

In addition to the possible enactment of the Bonus bill, those business men who look upon the Mellon tax program as holding the best promise for the general economic welfare of the country, view as a disturbing element in the business situation the unexpected coalition of Democrats and socalled Radical Republicans in the Senate on May 5 and the sudden defeat of the Mellon plan by the writing of the Democratic surtax and normal tax substitutes into the much altered Revenue bill. Again the coalition between Democrats and Republican Radicals won when the Senate inserted in the Revenue bill on May 7 the Democratic amendment taxing undistributed corporation earnings on a sliding scale from 9 to 40 per cent. based upon the percentage of net earnings upon capital invested, a system to which the President vigorously objects. The Senate also accepted the inheritance tax proposal, running from 1 per cent. on \$25,000 up to 30 per cent. above \$5,000,-000, as a substitute for the estate tax, approved by the House and ranging from 1 per cent. on \$50,000 to 40 per cent. above \$10,000,000.

The numerous Congressional inquiries have also contributed to the weakening of confidence in the business outlook.

The decline in industrial activity during the last month was fairly general. With allowance for seasonal factors, most basic lines showed a rather well defined downward movement.

The statement of the United States Steel Corporation for the first quarter of 1924, issued on April 29, showed net earnings of \$50,075,445, the largest net earnings reported for any peace-time quarter in the history of the corporation. In only cleven quarterly periods during the war did earnings pass the total for the first three months of this year. But operations in the steel industry, which reached their peak in March, have decreased approximately one-fifth since then.

Although manufacturers of motor cars generally report an increase in sales during the last few weeks, production figures for April showed a sharp falling off compared with the previous months and with April, 1923. Unfavorable weather was held responsible for the disappointing demand for open cars this Spring.

For several consecutive weeks car loadings of revenue freight have been less than in the cor- with unfortunate results similar to those experi-

responding weeks of last year. Class 1 railroads earned net operating incomes of \$80,239,885 in March, 1924, compared with \$84,124,312 March, 1923, acording to figures made public on May 7 by the Bureau of Railway Economics and compiled from reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission. This is equivalent to 5.31 per cent. earned in March on the tentative valuation, compared with 5.84 per cent. in the corresponding month of 1923, making allowance for the \$900,000,000 of new capital invested in the properties last year. The shrinkage in earnings was largely due to the decrease in the gross revenues of the carriers of the railroads, which totaled \$505,124,921 for the month, a decrease of \$30,701,470 in comparison with March, 1923. Some of this loss was offset by the decrease in the operating expenses which totaled \$390,273,-909, or \$27,653,080 less than for the corresponding month of last year. The continued decline in traffic has resulted in retrenchment moves by virtually every railroad in the country. Many roads have written letters to their employes asking assistance in reducing expenses.

Business failures in the United States numbered 1,707 during April, which was a reduction of 6 per cent. compared with March, but an increase of 12 per cent. over April, 1923, although the total liabilities, \$48,904,452, were smaller than that in the corresponding month of last year, when they aggregated \$51,491,941. Production of bituminous coal has fallen further, prices having been declining for many weeks, with thousands of miners idle. Demand for power and light show no decrease from peak levels.

### THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

In spite of the high level of building activity which has been maintained for more than two years, it is evident that an appreciable part of the shortage resulting from the relative inaction of the war period still remains. From time to time attempts have been made to estimate the extent of the shortage and the progress already made toward its removal. These estimates show considerable variation, but in general they tend toward the conclusion that a dearth of structures for the country as a whole is still apparent. The value of contracts awarded during the first quarter in thirty-six States is 15 per cent. higher than the corresponding total last year, but the increase is more than accounted for by the figures for New York City, which are more than double those of a year ago. The remainder of the country shows a decrease of about 1 per cent. in total value, which probably represents a decrease of about 10 per cent. in physical volume. In New York City building activity, especially of a speculative sort, has been projected on such a large scale that considerable anxiety has been expressed lest the industry again overreach itself,

enced last Spring. The New York Building A year ago activity was at an extraordinarily high Congress has recently announced that, unless there is a voluntary curtailment of building plans, it will undertake an active campaign to induce moderation. Not only is contemplated work in excess of the industry's physical capacity, but there is a possibility, it is thought, that an actual surplus of housing space may result from the enormous volume of speculative residential building, which has been estimated to constitute nearly three-fourths of the activity now in prospect. For the country as a whole, however, present conditions give promise of a wellsustained rate of activity throughout this year. There are, to be sure, certain factors, in the presconditions which prevailed in 1923. The shortand the ability of the in cute than a year ago, of rising costs is condustry to proceed in spite other hand, the approximation of contemplated construction in most sections is somewhat smaller. cept in Ne Exteriors is somewhat smaller. Exnot point thew York City, present indications do on at of to any likelihood of over expansion. Both thrasecount of its actual size and on account of the ne variety of its demand, building in in a peculiar degree a key industry. Large construction operations, as in the last two years, tend not only to promote activity in the industries and trades directly associated, but to provide a powerful stimulus to business in general.

It is easy to exaggerate the significance of the

level, and current records somewhat below those of that period are consistent with the maintenance of generally favorable business. Apart from political uncertainties, the economic features of the business situation indicate the probable continuance of production and trade at close to normal levels. There is no threat of a general depression comparable to that of 1920-21. Apropos of this, as emphasized at the first Annual Eastern Regional Conference of the Savings Bank Division of the American Bankers' Association, held in New York City late in April, the recent record of savings banks has been remarkable. The amount of savings of the American people last year, including deposits made in savings banks, investments in securities and mortgages, &c., estimated at \$12,000,000,000, or 50 per cent. more than in the preceding year, is among the most striking indications of the substantial prosperity which the country has enjoyed. During the year ended on June 30, 1923, the deposits in the savings banks of the United States increased from \$7,181,248,000 to \$7,897,909,000, the number of depositors from 12,538,997 to 13,340,332, and the average balance of each depositor from \$572.71 to \$592.05. Prosperity and thrift are reflected also in the large net increase in life insurance, which amounted last year to nearly \$7,000,000,000. The amount of new insurance written during the year was 22 per cent. greater than that in 1922 and 17 per cent. greater than recessions in some lines of production and trade, that in 1920, the previous record year.

# Financial Conditions Abroad

By SIR GEORGE PAISH

Formerly Editor of The London Statist and Financial Adviser to the British Government

ing of confidence generally throughout Europe than has been experienced since the period of exceptional activity in 1920-21. The main cause of this feeling is the publication of the reports of the Dawes and McKenna committees appointed by the Reparation Commission. These reports have been received with universal approval, as they hold out the prospect of a financial and equitable solution of the reparation problem. The reports have already been accepted by Great Britain and Italy, and now await the acceptance of France in order to be acted upon. The latter has delayed her reply until after the elections on May 11, but hope is universally entertained that France will also accept the reports and that the problem which has been most prejudicial

ECENT events have created a greater feel-, to the restoration of confidence and the recovery of business will soon be in course of settlement.

> Another fact in bringing about a better atmosphere is the budget statement of the British Labor Government, which not only imposed no taxation of a penalizing character upon capital, but effected a substantial reduction in taxation and moreover repealed the corporations tax. Furthermore, a fresh step has been taken to convert the British debt, and holders of upward of £150,000,-000 of war loans have accepted conversion of their 5 per cent. bonds to 41/2 per cent. at £103. These events in Great Britain have greatly relieved the anxieties of the business community as to the policy which the Labor Government intends to pursue.

The prospect of the receipt of substantial rep-

arations by France has given renewed strength to the French exchange, and this in turn has contributed to the more hopeful feeling.

Nor are the favorable events confined to Great Britain, France and Germany. The reorganization of Hungarian finances has made substantial progress and Poland has begun to stabilize its currency. Indeed, it may be said that almost every country in Europe is now actively engaged in endeavoring to restore order to its finances, including Russia, which has sent a delegation to London to improve the trade relations of the two countries, and, if possible, to obtain financial credit.

Among the few unfavorable developments is the fall in Japanese exchange to well under parity in consequence of the greatness of the imports into that country in order to restore the devastation caused by the earthquake. No great importance, however, is attached to this movement, as the Japanese Government is understood to possess foreign balances sufficient to prevent a collapse in the yen.

There has also been renewed decline in Argentine exchange, mainly in consequence of the difficulty which Argentina has experienced in selling enough agricultural produce at current prices to meet its engagements. Generally the situation in South America is unsatisfactory.

In South Africa, also, the situation is discouraging. The existing trade depression in that country is the main cause of the dissolution of the South African Parliament, creating, as it does, anxiety as to the kind of Government that is likely to be elected there.

The course of events in India also give rise to uneasiness, the Indian Government having been unable to persuade the members of the Council to adopt its budget and having to enforce the budget by order of the Viceroy.

Notwithstanding these minor events, however, there is a much more confident feeling abroad, bringing with it signs of trade recovery, and, as far as Great Britain is concerned, a further decline in the number of unemployed. The recent great recovery in the value of the French franc from 120 francs to 63 francs to the pound sterling, with only a slight reaction, has diminished French competition in manufactured goods in foreign

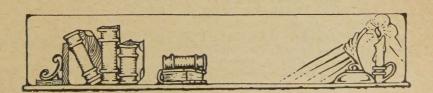
markets, and has, on the other hand, stimulated imports into France. The buying of foreign goods by Germany is also noteworthy. This is attributed in large measure to the withdrawal of Germany's foreign cash balances and to the consequent improvement in Germany's internal trade conditions.

The reparations problem is the most important of the factors affecting the world's financial and economic situation, and the only doubtful point about the Dawes committee's proposals is the question of the extent of the amount of exchange available to enable the sums paid by Germany for reparations in gold marks to be converted into the currencies of the Entente nations.

The recent anxieties concerning the financial situation and the lack of confidence which was until lately felt in London with regard to the world in general is mainly responsible for a reduction in the quantity of new loans and securities placed in the London market in April to £6,592,000, whereas the amount placed in March was £21,101,000, and in April, 1923, £34,011,000. The smallness of these new issues is also a reflection of the anxiety which was felt in March concerning the French financial situation. Should the more favorable turn which has been given to the international situation by the Dawes report be maintained the applications to London for capital from Continental nations now busily engaged in balancing their budgets and stabilizing their currencies are expected to be considerable. Amsterdam has recently applied to London for a loan of £2,500,000.

Of the various movements toward financial stability the effort of Poland is particularly noteworthy. The Polish Bank has been formed by the Polish Government with a capital of 100,000,000 gold francs. This bank is issuing a new gold currency called the zloty, which is equal in fineness to the gold franc. One gold zloty will be equal to 1,800,000 existing Polish marks. From the beginning of February the Polish budget has been balanced without the help of any new creation of currency.

The financial position of Spain is steadily improving, the reduction in the deficit during six months of military Government having been 300,000,000 pesetas.



# Contemporary History and Biography

CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES. Group Psychology of the American People. By Horace M. Kallen. New York: Boni & Liveright.

Many theories of today are repudiated by Dr. Kallen in this reflective study of American development. He strikes a new path, holding neither with the "inferior America" school, nor with the blatant flag-waving element. A liberal immigration policy is favored in his discussion of the various contributions made by European racial stock to American civilization. However, there are issues even more fundamental than immigration, as Dr. Kallen points out:

Humanism, and this alone, can truly save the soul from the unhappy submission to matter which is the slavish spirit of modern society, from the preoccupation with natural science, the absorption in making things to sell and the accumulation of money, which are its manifestations. So complete and so degraded is this slavery that the only ideal which society regards is the ideal of wealth, the only freedom it desires is freedom to get rich, the only progress it apprehends is progress in acquisition and the only happiness it finds is happiness in the multiplication of possessions. With this result: The features of the community are sordid and ugly; its rich folk are anxious and afraid, its poor discouraged and degraded; its arts reject what is best for what is commonest or wildest. Its religion has changed from a loyalty of hope to an idolatry of despair.

REPELLION IN LABOR UNIONS. By Sylvia Kopald, Ph. D. New York: Boni & Liveright.

The American public has been disconcerted of late by a series of "outlaw" strikes; analyzing this trend, Dr. Kopald concludes that it is symptomatic of certain fundamental changes through which the labor union now is passing; much of it, she says, is due to the swift advance of machinery:

Automatic machinery, since 1902, in America, has meant eclipse of the skilled worker and the increasing inefficiency of the old trade union.

\* \* \* \* In the face of such changed economic conditions the old trade union machinery is bound to be recognized as antiquated.

THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF SOVIET RUSSIA. By Alfred L. P. Dennis. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

The zeal with which the Soviet leaders, on their first elevation to power, set out immediately to convert the world to Bolshevism has relaxed in proportion to the development of their knowledge of diplomatic technique. The change, however, was superficial and tactical; Professor Dennis, impressively impartial, gives an interesting picture of this side of Bolshevist psychology. He writes:

The importance of the world revolution has diminished as months have gone by, but it has

never been abandoned by Moscow as the ultimate end of society. \* \* \* The Bolsheviki, therefore, look to the development of a new world in which Moscow will be\_the new Rome.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ANDREW CARNEGIE. New popular edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

This life-story, published originally while the steel master was yet alive, is reissued with a preface by Mrs. Carnegie. The merits of the autobiography are known; Mrs. Carnegie adds much to the volume in her simple, direct memento. Of especial interest is her assertion that Mr. Carnegie died of a broken heart when the cataclysmic war wrecked his dreams for universal peace.

CHINESE LANTERNS. A Study of the Development of Woman in China. By Grace Thompson Seton. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Definite tendencies toward the liberation of Chinese women from the thrall of convention and tradition which has enmeshed them for innumerable centuries, are now discernible, according to Mrs. Seton. Suffrage organizations are growing rapidly more powerful, the professions are gradually lowering their sex barriers, and a public opinion is crystallizing in favor of the new movement. Not all the nation shares in this progress, however; the recent royal wedding was marked by the ceremonies of earliest China—a reminder that evolution is slow.

THE REAL SARAH BERNHARDT. By Mme.
Pierre Berton and Basil Woon. New York:
Boni & Liveright

The magic that was Bernhardt does not submit itself easily to dissection; it was at once alluring and elusive. The authors, lifelong associates of the actress, lift the curtain on a sequence of adventures, colorful and stamped with the love of life characteristic of Bernhardt during her lifetime.

THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, G. C. B. By J. A. Spender, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

So radically have the war and reconstruction periods altered British policy and administration that it seems more than a generation since Campbell-Bannerman's Premiership. Mr. Spender, himself a celebrated editor and publicist, in these two volumes, resketches the opening of the Twentieth Century with a vivid pen. His portrait of the Prime Minister, though friendly and tactful, has the stamp of authenticity and should prove of definite value to the historian.